

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


1837
ARTES
VERITAS
SCIENTIA
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

DU.
625
.J38
1843



HISTORY

OF THE

HAWAIIAN OR SANDWICH ISLANDS.

HISTORY

82428

OF THE

HAWAIIAN OR SANDWICH ISLANDS,

EMBRACING

THEIR ANTIQUITIES, MYTHOLOGY, LEGENDS, DISCOVERY BY EUROPEANS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, RE-DISCOVERY BY COOK, WITH THEIR CIVIL, RELIGIOUS, AND POLITICAL HISTORY, FROM THE EARLIEST TRADITIONARY PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY JAMES JACKSON JARVES,

Member of the American Oriental Society.

LONDON:

EDWARD MOXON, DOVER STREET.

MDCCCXLIII.

LONDON:
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

Q 20 2 1 2 3

PREFACE.

The author deems it proper briefly to state the causes which have led him upon venturing to intrude before the public, a narrative of a nation so youthful in annals, which constitute claims to the appellation of history in its most dignified sense. If he had been more ambitious of the credit of an historiographer, than desirous of presenting in their true light the historical incidents of an interesting though humble people, a field of greater events and more storied interest would have been selected. But deeds are not always to be judged by the extent of the territories which gave them origin, or principles, by the degree of the individuals who were the means of their dissemination. Both must be tested by their relative effects. The record of the spread of moral worth and political freedom in a nation, however puny, is deserving of far more attention than the tales of a lawless ambition, whose spirit is death, and whose path is misery and ruin. The author fain would trust that some of the interest and instruction which he himself has derived from studying the actual condition of heathenism as it existed among the Hawaiian nation, its providential overthrow, and the gradual and increasing ascendency of Christianity and civilisation, despite many reactions and unceasing hostility, will be imparted to his readers. The Christian community have long looked with kindly interest on this experiment; their gifts, labours, and prayers have nourished its growth; but to the remainder of

the world, it has appeared more as an imperfectly finished picture, in which light and shade were inharmoniously blended, than as a beautiful illustration of the "power of God unto salvation." In this work, it has been attempted to trace the courses and results of the antagonistic efforts of the several influences which have been brought to impede or accelerate its progress, and also to preserve in a popular form the records of an age which were fast disappearing. In the traditions and customs of their earlier existence, much will be found to gratify the spirit of curiosity and research; at least, they possess the merit of forming a portion in the general catalogue of human events, while without them, an additional page would be numbered among the already too numerous blanks in the history of mankind.

The author, in pursuit of health and recreation, first landed on the shores of Oahu in 1837, imbued with much of that spirit which erroneously pervades the interesting narratives of a Beechey, a Kotzebue, and others, who fancied themselves honest searchers after truth. From his course of reading and inquiries among those whose opportunities had allowed them to form correct opinions, (had not their prejudices been too deep to be eradicated by reason,) he had formed the opinion, that the Hawaiians, though bettered in morals, were a priest-ridden people; that sectarianism and worldly aggrandizement were the cogent motives of their spiritual teachers; and that they had succeeded in establishing a system of government, which, for influence and secrecy of design, might justly be compared to the dominion of the Jesuits in South America. A close examination, it was expected, would confirm these views. How far these opinions have been retained, the following pages will show. They are the results of convictions derived from a nearly four years' residence at these islands, with a diligent study of their ancient history, and its connexion with the political and religious changes. If the writer were of the same sect as that body whose missionary labours have

been instrumental of so much good, he might be accused of a bias toward them. But such is not the case: he feels it a duty frankly to bear testimony to truth, in whomsoever it may appear, and whatsoever may be its shape. Had his former views been established, they would have been as freely proclaimed; his earnest desire being to contribute even a mite to the pages of history.

It was designed to interweave with the civil and political account of the nation, a series of sketches illustrative of their present life and condition, and other interesting points which would have enlivened a bare narrative of facts; also to have pictured the wondrous natural phenomena of that prolific portion of the Pacific; the great volcanic eruption of 1840, and a full account of the mightiest of craters, the gigantic *Lua Pele*, or *Kilauea*, in Hawaii. But it would have swelled the volume to an unwieldy size, and the author preferred, by giving the political history of the group by itself, to test the perhaps too partial opinion of his friends, who opined that the value of the subject would of itself insure the work a fair circulation. Should this be verified, at an early period will be presented an additional volume, which, without being connected with the present, will give in detail all that is necessary to form a correct view of the Hawaiian Islands, their condition, prospects, the everyday concerns of the people, and missionary life as it now exists; the two to form a succinct whole, illustrating each other.

To the valuable labours of the Rev. William Ellis, author of "Tour around Hawaii," the author has been greatly indebted, and is happy to be able to verify the general accuracy of his statements. His former position as editor of a weekly paper at Honolulu, "The Polynesian," and his relations with all the parties of that place, his acquaintance with the chiefs and natives, and with others whose personal knowledge of historical events extended beyond his, enabled him to collect much valuable information; this,

since his arrival in Boston, has been carefully arranged and collated with all the works of authority relative to the islands, including the expensive foreign editions of early voyagers. Information has been derived from individuals who early resorted thither for trade. Accuracy in all statements has been diligently sought, and, as all the events are of comparatively recent occurrence, it is believed, obtained. The translations from " Ka Mooolelo Hawaii," or History of Hawaii, written by the scholars of the High School at Lahainaluna, were made by the Rev. Reuben Tinker, late a missionary, and may be depended on for their fidelity.

As many of the individuals whose conduct has had an important bearing upon Hawaiian policy and reform are still living, and holding the same relations as formerly, statements which affect them have been made only when necessary for the exposition of political movements; and then only upon indisputable evidence. The history of the government is so intimately involved with the unprincipled movements of a few characters, that to delineate the former, it was impossible to avoid picturing the latter; while the natural delicacy of unobtrusive good, prevents a more public acknowledgment of the quiet yet effective exertions of individuals whose visits or residences have been peculiarly beneficial. If the secret springs which have moved many more prominent countries to war or anarchy were exposed, avarice or sensuality, envy or revenge, would be found prime movers. History pictures the barbarous Hawaiian court, with its internal foes of white skins but black hearts, in all its naked deformity. Could the deceitful veil be thrown aside, which screens the vices and deformities of prouder courts, whose outward lustre dazzles the eye, and whose power affrights the timid in truth, scenes would be disclosed, which might justly be paralleled with those of the former. The selfish passions and dark designs of weak and semi-savage royalty, would be discovered to be but

an epitome of the secret springs which move the machinery of strong and civilised monarchism.

The strictures upon the conduct of the Roman Catholics at the Hawaiian islands, will doubtless, at first glance, appear unnecessarily severe, to the numerous class of that denomination in the United States and Europe. At the same time, it is to be hoped that the candid and enlightened among them, will, after a careful scrutiny of the facts, unite in condemning measures founded in fraud and violence, which, though they may be temporarily successful, must ultimately recoil upon their authors. If otherwise, the opprobrium must rest upon a system that nourishes means so foul to effect its ends.

It has been a matter of some perplexity to generalize the information sufficiently to make a readable volume for the public at large. All facts of importance have been related; and while the resident at the islands may miss the records of some petty occurrences, which in his little world appeared of great interest, it will be found that nothing which was necessary to form a general and connected whole, or possessed historic value, so far as authorities could be depended upon, has been omitted. To add to the utility of the work, some valuable documents have been added as an Appendix.

From the general want of an accurate knowledge of the physical features of the Hawaiian archipelago, it was thought desirable to commence this work by a brief outline of their prominent characteristics and capabilities; as an acquaintance with the nature of the ground would render the historical portions more easy of elucidation. Much interest and sympathy have been felt on the subject of the rapid decrease of the savage races when brought in contact with civilisation. So general has been their destruction, that many fanciful theories have been formed for its solution, and, with many, it has the force of an unchangeable axiom—a decree of the Creator of both races—that the weaker is destined to perish from off the earth, to give room

for the stronger. Consequently, a spirit of apathy—or, perhaps, it may with more propriety be termed fatalism—has arisen, which strongly tends to quench the desires and exertions of benevolence. Like any other of the natural laws of an All-wise Being, the author believes it susceptible of reasonable exposition; and in the last portion of the Appendix he has endeavoured to state the causes which will account for its activity with the Hawaiians, and the means for arresting its progress. Compared with the speculations of philosophers, desirous of erecting a showy fabric, and apparently regardless of the unsubstantial nature of the materials used, the reasoning will appear simple, and perhaps ineffective. But evidences derived from years of actual experience with the race in question, are more to be depended on, than the isolated cogitations of a study.

SUMMER STREET, BOSTON,
February 20, 1843.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE v

CHAPTER I.

Sandwich Islands—True name—Situation—Geographical importance—Number and extent—Reefs—Growth of—Harbours—General appearance and structure—Rain—Windward sides—Leeward sides—Minerals—Salt lake—Soil—Vegetable productions—Insects—Animals—Fishes—Climate—Meteorological tables—Winds—Storms—Diseases—Earthquakes—Phenomena of tides—Meteoric showers of 1825—Water-spouts 1

CHAPTER II.

Early Hawaiian History—Former intercourse between the Hawaiian Islands and the Tahitian—Samoan and Marquesian groups—Beautiful Superstition of "Youth-renewing Fountain"—Creation of first Inhabitants—Flood—Origin of the World—of Hawaii—Ancient Hawaiian Kings—Government—Common law—Cruelties—Kingly Power—Police—Chiefs—Retinues—Rank—How derived—Orders of Nobility—Homage—Public Councils and Meetings—Conduct of Superiors towards Inferiors—Litigation—Ordeals—Praying to Death—Sorcery—Soothsayers or Magicians—Character of Religion—Notions of Future State—Hawaiian Hades—Ideas in regard to Souls—Milu—Idols—Different Classes of—Male and Female—God Lono—Goddess Pele and her Family—Hawaiian Centaur—Fabrication of Idols—Temples or "*heiaus*"—Ceremonies attending Consecration—Human Sacrifices—Victims—How obtained—Animal and Vegetable Offerings—Diviners—Priesthood—Ranks—General Character—Taxes of Priesthood—Remarkable Privileges—Tabus—Origin and Meaning of the Word—Present application—Penalties attached to Violation of Tabus—"Pahonuas," or Cities of Refuge—Comparisons between the Religions and Governments of the Different Groups—General Character of all, previous to the introduction of Christianity . . 22

CHAPTER III.

PAGE

Warlike weapons—Armour—Feather Cloaks and Helmets—War—Preparations—Militia—Camps—Mode of Fighting—Victors and Vanquished—Truces—Peace—Festivals—Orators and Bards—Songs—Wailing—Games—Dances—Mourning Ceremonies—Arts and Agriculture—Houses—Ceremonies before occupying—Clothing—Food—Fisheries—Commerce between different Islands—Stated Fairs—Method of Computation—Knowledge and Practice of Medicine—Origin and Cure of Diseases—Modes of Burial—Division of Time—Hawaiian Dialect 56

CHAPTER IV.

Physical Appearance of the Hawaiians—Chiefs—Habits of—Common People—Women—Marriage—Affinities of Blood—Friendships—Salutation—Cannibalism—Intemperance—Treatment of Sick—Lunatics—Aged—Infanticide—Examples of—Treatment of Women—Tabus of Food—General Character of the Hawaiians previous to contact with the Whites 77

CHAPTER V.

Visits to the Hawaiian Islands previous to Cook—Anson's Chart—Spaniards acquainted with Hawaii—Traditions of a Priest—His Character—Landing of Europeans between 1535 and 1650—Shipwreck at Kealakeakua Bay—Ships seen—Tradition of White Men—Other Evidence—First appearance of Cook—His reception—Astonishment of Islanders—Their opinions—Effects of Visit—War on Maui—Cook's Reappearance—First Notice of Kamehameha—Cook's Arrival at Kealakeakua Bay—His Deification—Worship paid him—Remarks—Native Hospitality—Thefts—Cook's Desecration of a Temple—Growing Dislike of Natives—Ships Sail—Return—Succeeding Events—Cook's Death—Ledyard's Account—Native do.—Review of Proceedings—Recovery of Bones—Peace—Departure of Ships—Touch at Oahu—Arrive at Kauai—Wars—Attacked by Natives—Visit Niihau—Final Departure . . 88

CHAPTER VI.

1779—Unfavourable opinion entertained of the islanders in consequence of the death of Cook—Death of Kalaniopuu—War of succession—Victories of Kamehameha—King of Maui succours Keoua—Kamehameha conquers Maui, Lani, and Molokai—Account of Kiana—Arrival of Captains Portlock and Dixon—Trade opened—Meares's visit—Kiana goes to China—General trade—La Pérouse visits Maui, 1786—Remarkable destruction of an army—Keoua conquered—Assassinated—Maui, Lani, and Molokai rebel—Arrival of the Eleanora—Metcalf—Capture of his boat and murder of a sailor—Metcalf's

PAGE

bloody revenge—Metcalf's son murdered at Hawaii—Sch. Fair American captured—John Young and Isaac Davis made prisoners —Difficulties between traders and the islanders—Kamehameha's indignation at the capture of the Fair American—Treatment of prisoners—Kiana's ambitious views—Attempts on vessels—Vancouver's arrival—First notice of Kaumualii, prince of Kauai—Origin of sandal-wood traffic—Dædalus arrives at Oahu—Massacre of Lieutenant Hergest and Mr. Gooch—Avarice of chiefs—Trade—Kamehameha's intercourse with Vancouver—His character—Kaahumanu, the queen—Princely hospitality of Kamehameha—Jealousy of other chiefs—Cattle first introduced at Hawaii—Discipline of ships—Orders of the king—Widow of Kalainopuu—Sham battle—Present to King George III.—Transactions at Maui—Attempt to restore peace—Murderers executed at Oahu—Large canoe—Festival of Makahiki—Law of retaliation—Benevolent efforts of Vancouver—Theatrical entertainments—Cession of Hawaii—Departure of Vancouver—Expected return . . . 124

CHAPTER VII.

1794—Honolulu harbour discovered and surveyed—Murder of Messrs. Brown and Gardner, January 1, 1795—Capture and recapture of the Jackall and Prince Lee Boo—Troubles in Kauai—Maui, Molokai and Lanai subdued, 1795—Oahu invaded—Kiana's defection, rebellion, and death—Visit of H. B. M. ship Providence, Captain Broughton—Marines slain at Niihau—Kamehameha's proposed conquest of Tahiti—Kamehameha completes his conquests—Kauai submits—Humane policy of the conqueror—Arrangement of Government—Taxes—General peace—Courtly etiquette—Laws enacted—Internal regulations—Foreign policy—Trade—Anecdote—Preparations for conquest of Kauai—1802—Great mortality—Character of Kaumualii—His preparations—Final settlement of difficulties—Arrival of Lisiansky—1804, Young, Governor of Hawaii—Attempt to convert Kamehameha—Sydney bay convicts—Foreign settlers—Number—Campbell—Death of Davis, 1810—Kamehameha's wealth —Queens—Liholiho, his heir—Birth—Character—King returns to Hawaii—Proposed royal alliance between Tahiti and Hawaii—Public works—Attempt of Russians in Kauai, 1814—Kotzebue, 1816—Birth of Kauikeouli—Nahienaina—Voyage to China—Establishment of harbour fees—Kamehameha's desire to hear of the Christian religion—Death, May 8th, 1819—Sacrifice of dogs—Native account of his funeral obsequies 162

CHAPTER VIII.

1819—Consequences of the death of Kamehameha—Scepticism—Occasion of—Abolition of idolatry—National character—Rebellion of Kekuokalani—Defeat and death—1820—Arrival of American missionaries—Reception—Hostile intrigues—Kindness of Kaumualii—Of foreigners—Tyranny and dissipation of Liholiho—Gradual improvement of Nation—Voyage of Liholiho to Kauai, July, 1821—

PAGE

Kaumualii's hospitality—Treachery of Liholiho—Keeaumoku made governor of Kauai—Kaahumanu's marriage to Kaumualii and his son—First church erected at Honolulu—Increased taxation—January, 1822—First printing at the islands—State of education—Arrival of English deputation—Results—Present of armed schooner—First Christian marriage—Hoapili appointed Governor of Mauai—New missionaries—Increasing favour of government—1823—Festival in honour of Kamehameha—Illness and death of Keopuolani—Foreign hostility to missions—Marriage of Hoapili—Liholiho and train embark for England, 1824—Death of Kaumualii—Rebellion at Kauai—Final subjugation—Last heathen sacrifice performed by one of the royal family—1824—Conversion of Kalaimoku and Kaahumanu—Character of their administration—News of the death of the king—Arrival of the British Consul and family, April, 1825 . . 192

CHAPTER IX.

Liholiho's passage to England—Attention shown to the party—Death of King and Queen—Boki's interview with George IV.—Blonde frigate—Arrival at Lahaina—Honolulu—Funeral obsequies—Council of state—Speeches—Kaahumanu and Kalaimoku proclaimed regents—Idolatry existing in Hawaii—Courage of Kapiolani—Singular creed—Outrages of foreign captains at Lahaina—U. S. schooner Dolphin at Honolulu, 1826—Triumph of liberal party—U. S. ship Peacock—Origin and structure of parties—Character of English consul—His policy—Death of Kalaimoku, 1827—Laws enacted—Opposition of foreigners 231

CHAPTER X.

1827—Arrival of Roman Catholic Priests—Their history—Reception—Policy—Opinion of chiefs—Foreigners—Spread of Protestantism—Boki's rebellion—1829—Conduct of the King—Legislation—Hostility of foreigners—Causes of—Visit of U. S. ship Vincennes—Fatal expedition of Boki—Persecution of Papists—Liliha's attempt at revolution—Removal from office—Kuakini appointed Governor of Oahu—Jesuits sent away—Death of Kaahumanu, 1832—Succeeded by Kinau—Kauikeouli assumes the government—His abolition of tabus—Effects—Reaction—1834 252

CHAPTER XI.

1836—Further history of the Jesuits—Arrival of the French sloop-of-war Bonite—H. B. M. S. Acteon—Lord Edward Russell—Diplomatic intercourse—Treaties—Return of priests from California, 1837—Ordered on board the Clementine—Abandoned to government—Burning of the flag by English consul—Armed interference of Captains Belcher, of the Sulphur, and Du Petit Thouars, of the Venus frigate—Account of official intercourse—Treaty negotiated—Arrival

PAGE

of Imogene frigate—Another arrival of priests—Sent away—Edict against Romanism—Further persecution—Religious toleration proclaimed by the king, 17th June, 1839—Proceeding of foreign residents at Honolulu—Admixture of religious and political movements of the French in the Pacific—Policy—Arrival of L'Artémise frigate, Laplace, commander—Blockade of the port of Honolulu—Manifesto—Demands—Agreed to—History of commercial treaty—Interview with king—Arrival of French bishop—Deaths of Kinau, Kaikoewa, and Liliha, 1839—Progress of Roman Catholicism—Probable results—Fresh difficulties incited, 1842—Visit and demands of the corvette L'Embuscade, Captain Mallet, September—Designs of the French upon the Hawaiian islands—Change of governmental policy—Character of—Causes—Constitution of 1840—Laws—Supremacy of—Treasury system—Duties—Religious knowledge and condition—Credit due American missionaries—Comparison between the reigns of Kamehameha and Kauikeouli—Commerce and Christianity—Mechanical advancement—Agricultural ditto—Capability of Hawaiians—Influence of foreign families 277

CHAPTER XII.

Mercantile Statistics—Shipping of various nations—Comparative amounts—Imports and Exports from 1836 to 1842—Number of foreign families—American population—Value of property—American enterprise—English jealousy—Comparison between official conduct of the representatives of both nations—Citizens and subjects—Hudson's Bay Company—Their Commercial conquests and designs—National spoliations of England and France in Polynesia—Probable destiny of the Hawaiian archipelago—Vast importance to American commercial interests if allowed to remain independent—Consequences if seized upon by a foreign power—Present national policy—Commendable exertions for education of chiefs—Present nobles—Rank—Emphatic language of the President of the United States, a guarantee of their independence—Probable course of England and Russia—France—Note 331

APPENDIX.

PAGE

I. Extract from Captain Finch's Report 347

II. Articles of arrangement between the United States and the Sandwich Islands 355

III. Treaty between Great Britain and the Sandwich Islands . 357

IV. An ordinance rejecting the Roman Catholic Religion . . 358

V. Letter of the United States Consul to the King . . . 361

" the King to the United States Consul . . . 362

VI. Treaty between France and the Sandwich Islands . . 364

VII. Article on population—Captain King's estimate, 1779—Why erroneous—Great mortality—Causes of—Census table for 1832, 1836, 1840—Probable results 366

HISTORY

OF THE

HAWAIIAN, OR SANDWICH ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

Sandwich Islands—True Name—Situation—Geographical Importance—Number and Extent—Reefs—Growth of—Harbours—General Appearance and Structure—Rain—Windward Sides—Leeward Sides—Minerals—Salt Lake—Soil—Vegetable Productions—Insects—Animals—Fishes—Climate—Meteorological Tables—Winds—Storms—Diseases—Earthquakes—Phenomena of Tides—Meteoric Showers of 1825—Water Spouts.

THAT important cluster of islands, situated in the North Pacific Ocean, generally known as the Sandwich Islands, were so named by Captain Cook, at the date of their discovery by him, in honour of his patron, the Earl of Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty. Their legitimate appellation, and the one by which they still continue to be distinguished by the aboriginal inhabitants, is "Hawaii nei," a collective term, synonymous with the Hawaiian Islands. They are so called from the largest of the group, Hawaii; from which the reigning family originated. This term is now gradually taking the place of the former in charts, maps, and books, and with reason.

If the appellation of a race or country is not derived from the inhabitants themselves, no uniformity can exist. The numerous groups of Polynesia exhibit evidence, in this respect, of the caprices of their discoverers; who, regardless of their aboriginal designations, bestowed upon them such as their fancies suggested. Much perplexity and confusion have

resulted from this species of robbery, which the better judgment of the present age is endeavouring to correct. Thus, the Navigator group is becoming better known by its aboriginal name, Samoa—and the Friendly, by the Tonga; while others, such as New Zealand and the Marquesas, will be perpetuated by those cognomens. If the change could be universally accomplished, the conflicting claims of rival nations for the honour of conferring their titles upon the many disputed points of discovery, would cease, and they be known to the world by their rightful terms. Ignorance of the structure of the Polynesian language led Cook into error in regard to the proper names of many islands. Hawaii, he called Owhyhee; Kauai, Atooi; Niihau, Onehow; substituting compound words for single terms. The mistake was a natural one, though the more correct ear of Ledyard seems to have detected the difference. The O is the sign denoting the nominative case, answering to the question, who or what, and not part of the proper name. Thus—if he asked what land was that, the answer would have been, "O, Hawaii," Hawaii. No Hawaii, of or belonging to Hawaii, is the possessive, and I or Mai Hawaii, to and from Hawaii, the objective. If he inquired the names of the group, the answer would have been, O, Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Oahu a (and) Kauai—*a* being the copulative conjunction, and necessarily placed before the last-named island. This, probably, was the occasion of its being prefixed to Kauai. Onehow was formed the same as Owhyhee—Otaheite for Tahiti. The disagreement in spelling is owing to the English sound being given to Hawaiian vowels. This orthography is still retained by some of his countrymen, in blind respect to his memory.

The peculiar situation of the Hawaiian Islands in the vast North Pacific is of great importance to commerce, and marks them as a general resting-place in that portion of the great highway of the world, and the embryo depôt of a vast and flourishing trade. Their extremes of latitude are from 18° 50′ to 22° 20′ north, which brings them upon the borders of

the Tropic of Cancer; and of longitude from 154° 53′ to 160° 15′ west from Greenwich.

Their position is central to both the neighbouring continents; being nearly equidistant from Central America, Mexico, California, and the North-west Coast, on the one side, and the Russian dominions, Japan, China, and the Philippine Islands, on the other. When a civilised and enterprising population shall have developed the resources of these countries, these islands will bear the same relative importance to them, in proportion to their extent, that the West Indies now do to North and South America.

The lesser Southern groups lie also within a few weeks' sail, and much of their commerce must eventually centre here, though a long period must elapse before their full value and importance become thoroughly developed.

To the whaling interests they are invaluable; the ocean on every side, from the equator to the pole, and between both continents, abounds with favourable cruising grounds; and these islands afford the advantages of good harbours, abundant supplies, and a healthful climate, in the immediate vicinity of their dangerous labours.

If the ports of this group were closed to neutral commerce, many thousand miles of ocean would have to be traversed before havens possessing the requisite conveniences for recruiting or repairing shipping could be reached. This fact illustrates their great importance in a naval point. Should any one of the great nations seize upon them, it might be considered as holding the key of the North Pacific —for no trade could prosper in their vicinity, or even exist, while a hostile power, possessing an active and powerful marine, should send forth its cruisers to prey upon the neighbouring commerce. Their isolated position, in connection with their reef or precipice-bound shores, would add greatly to other local advantages of defence, and a military colony, once fairly established, might surely put at defiance any mean of attack which could be brought against them.

Including Bird Island, which was well known to the others prior to their discovery, in 1778, the group consists of twelve. This island lies one hundred and twenty miles to the north-west of Kauai; it is a barren rock, rarely visited; the resort, as its name indicates, of vast quantities of birds. Three of the others are, likewise, mere rocks: Molokini, which rises from fifteen to twenty feet above the ocean, and lies between Maui and Kahoolawe; and the other two off Niihau—the larger, Lehua (Egg Island), a mile to the west of Niihau, has an elevation of one thousand feet, and is covered with a small growth of shrubs, and a stunted vegetation, which affords sustenance to a flourishing colony of rabbits. An excellent spring of water exists upon it. Kaula, the other, is of less extent, and lies a few miles to the south-west of Niihau; it abounds with sea-fowl. The other islands, eight in number, are all inhabited, and are of the following extent:—

	LENGTH.	BREADTH.	SQUARE MILES.
Hawaii,	88 miles	73 miles	4000
Maui,	48 "	30 "	620
Kahoolawe,	11 "	8 "	60
Lanai,	17 "	9 "	100
Molokai,	40 "	7 "	190
Oahu,	46 "	25 "	530
Kauai,	22 "	24 "	500
Niihau,	20 "	7 "	90

The whole embrace a superficial area of about sixty-one hundred miles, of which Hawaii includes two thirds. But a small proportion of their coasts, when compared with the Southern groups, is bounded by coral reefs. They are of limited extent, and extend but a short distance from the shore, forming a barrier, over which the sea rolls in sheets of foam. Coral enters but slightly into the formation of the islands; the soil, in a few places only, near the shore, is based upon it, and it is said to be found with shells and beach-sand on the summit of a lofty mountain on Kauai.

The reefs, in some places, have been supposed to have a regular increase. From 1794 to 1810, a difference of three

feet in the reef, which forms the harbour of Honolulu, was noticed. Later observations have confirmed what has appeared to be the gradual growth of the coral, and which, it was feared, would eventually destroy the channel; but more accurate investigations have determined it to be produced by a general elevation of the coast, which is conjectured at the present time to be going forward at quite a rapid rate. Annually the reefs are becoming more bare, and in some places the sea has receded more than a rod from where canoes landed a few years previous. Freshets and whirlwinds are the occasion of great deposits of soil between the external barrier of the reef and the shore, in consequence of which it is thought the harbour will be ultimately injured, if not rendered altogether too shallow for ships. The attention of the king has been turned towards diverting the channel of the river of Ewa, which is the most noxious agent in this filling up. The average rise and fall of the tides is from four to five and a half feet, and they follow with regularity the course of the moon.

Unlike the Southern groups, also, the harbours are few, excepting for vessels of small draught. Numerous channels appear in the reefs, which afford entrance into basins, capable only of accommodating the diminutive native coasters. With the exception of Honolulu, on the south side of Oahu, no other good harbour exists. At Ewa, ten miles to the west of Honolulu, one has been recently surveyed, which has twenty-two feet at low water in the entrance, and the basin within is capacious; but the adjoining land is low and forbidding. At Koolau, on the north side of Oahu, a fine harbour occurs, with unfortunately but nine feet water in the channel. The surrounding country is verdant, well watered, and the breeze directly from the ocean. By deepening the channel, whenever the wants of the kingdom should require it, a fine site for a commercial town would be formed. Hilo Bay, on the north of Hawaii, commonly known as Byron's Bay,—so named in 1825, from the commander of the Blonde frigate, the first war-ship that anchored there,—affords excellent anchorage;

the shipping is protected by a projecting reef, and the holding ground is good, but the surf breaks heavily upon the beach, and renders the landing difficult. Should a strong north wind set in, a vessel would find it impossible to get under way. This delay frequently happens. At all of the principal towns, with these exceptions, the roadsteads are exposed; but such is the nature of the prevailing winds, that vessels can frequent them in perfect safety during nine or ten months of the year—and with good ground-tackle there is little to be feared at any season. No dangers to navigation exist in the vicinity of the islands, with the exception of a reef off the west coast of Kahoolawe, on which several ships bound to Lahaina have struck. It is a little less than two miles from the shore, and has two fathoms of water on it at low tide. A few rocks, within a circumference of two hundred feet, compose its whole extent. Vessels, by approaching too near the leeward side of the island, and getting becalmed, are liable to be drifted ashore, and frequently save themselves only by towing.

The formation of the whole group is volcanic. On Hawaii exists the largest known volcano, in an active state, in the world, and several others of great size, partially quiescent. The mountains attain an elevation of fourteen thousand feet, and are of great extent and grandeur, and here, as well as elsewhere, throughout the group, present a combination of valley, plain, and dell, of the wildest description, interspersed with scenery of the most peculiar and beautiful character. In places, they slope gradually to the sea, covered with a fine greensward at their base, while the upper region supports dense forests. Plains are broken by deep ravines, down the steep sides of which cascades tumble in bright sheets, glistening in the sunlight, and, uniting at their feet, form rivers of considerable depth and size. "*Palis*," or precipices, in many parts, present stupendous walls of rock, from one thousand to four thousand feet perpendicular elevation, which directly front the ocean, and receive the dash of its waves; these, in

time, wear away the rock, and form large caverns at their base, into which the sea rushes, its roar reverberating through their vast walls, with a deafening noise.

The great height of the mountains intercepts the clouds, which condense against their sides, and to the windward and on the high lands, occasions abundance of rain, which keeps vegetation perennially verdant, while the leeward portions, during most of the year, suffer from drought, and offer the voyager a most cheerless aspect. From below the region of clouds, vast and rugged masses of broken lava spread themselves over the country, and render it almost impassable. These are the most recent streams which have flowed from neighbouring volcanoes, destroying every living thing in their course, and now present nothing to the eye but heaps of blackened rocks. On the small islands, sloping plains more frequently occur, the soil of which is formed of ashes and cinders, of a dark red colour. This is frequently set in motion by violent gusts of wind, and carried to sea in dense clouds, darkening the sun, and hiding all objects from the view. During the winter months, when the trades are partially interrupted, showers occur more frequently; should much rain fall, these plains become covered with a species of coarse grass, which affords tolerable pasturage for cattle. One of the most remarkable features of the islands, is the great number of extinct volcanoes everywhere to be seen; they are of every age, size, and shape; at places, crowning the summits of lofty hills and mountains; elsewhere projecting into the ocean, forming excellent landmarks for navigators. Some look as if ready, at any moment, to belch forth again nature's artillery, and renew their hottest fires; others are gradually losing their fierce characteristics; their summits mouldering away, and vegetation yearly gaining ground upon their parched sides. One of the most singular and well-known, is the promontory near Honolulu, called Leahi, better known among foreigners as Diamond Head, from an idea formerly in vogue, that precious stones were to be found there.

The minerals are few and simple, consisting of the usual variety of the lavas, from the most solid and granular, to the light pumice-stone. Ledges of compact limestone, a beautiful material for building, are found in several of the islands, and, being elevated considerably above the sea, have afforded subject of much speculation as to how they were formed or arrived at their present situation. The most remarkable of these is at Kahuku, Oahu. No metals have been discovered. Four miles to the west of Honolulu, and within a mile of the ocean, a collection of old craters are to be seen. In one of these is the famous salt lake of Alia-paakai, elevated only a few feet above the level of the sea. It is nearly oval in form, and about a mile in circumference. At certain seasons, salt forms spontaneously, and in the greatest abundance; at others, but little is created, owing to its being overflowed by rains. Some have supposed it a mineral salt; but the general belief among the natives is, that it is formed by evaporation, and the following facts favour the supposition. Its general depth is but 18 inches; near the centre a hole exists, five to six fathoms in circumference, which, as no bottom has been found to it, is supposed to connect with the ocean; through this, the lake is slightly affected by the tides. At times it is crusted over with salt sufficiently strong to bear a man's weight. Large quantities are annually exported from this source.

The soil of the islands is composed of decomposed volcanic rocks, sand, mud, and ashes; which, to be made fertile, require constant irrigation. Valleys, which receive the debris and rains of the mountains, and for ages have been collecting deposits of vegetable mould from their own natural growth, are exceedingly rich and productive; but they are of a very limited extent. The soil generally is poor, better adapted for grazing than cultivation, though with labour and skill it can be made to produce good crops. Nature yields but little spontaneously, and the inhabitants have always been obliged to exercise much industry and ingenuity to raise their crops.

The principal article of food is the well-known Kalo, *Arum esculentum*, the most delicious of vegetables. Great labour is necessary in raising it successfully, and it requires a year to arrive at maturity.

The banana, yam, sweet potato, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, arrow-root, sugar-cane, strawberry, raspberry, *ohelo* (a berry), *ohia*, (a juicy, red apple, but of poor flavour,) are indigenous and plentiful. Many varieties of esculent fruits and vegetables have been successfully introduced, among which are melons, by Vancouver, the delicious chirimoya, from Peru, limes, oranges, guavas, pine-apples, grapes, peaches, figs, citrons, and tamarinds. The vegetables of the temperate region have been acclimated to a considerable extent. The uplands of Maui produce good Irish potatoes, and of great size—the largest of which weigh between three and four pounds. These can be raised for twenty-five cents the barrel. Wheat of good quality grows wild in the same region, and two crops can be annually raised. It needs but the introduction of a good mill, to make this a valuable staple. An oil used in painting is extracted, to a considerable extent, from the nut of the kukui tree, *Aleurites triloba*, and forms an article of export. Sandal-wood, suitable for exportation, is mostly exhausted, though the young wood is abundant. The manner of selling this article in former times was somewhat singular. If a vessel was to be purchased, the chief agreed to give an amount of sandal-wood, in exchange, equal to the bulk of the craft; taking her greatest length, depth, and breadth, a pit was dug of the same extent, making no allowance for bilge, which was filled with sandal-wood, and this amount exchanged for the desired object. In those days of simplicity, it is said that natives would exchange "yellow dollars" (old doubloons) for bright new silver dollars; thus rather practically illustrating the adage, that "all is not gold that glitters."

Coffee, cotton, indigo, tobacco, sugar-cane, mulberry, cocoa, and most of the tropical products, can be successfully cul-

tivated on the low grounds, while the uplands are suitable for the productions of more temperate regions.

Insects are few, though mostly of a destructive or troublesome character. A species of caterpillar at certain seasons destroys vegetation to a great extent, eating even the grass to its very roots. A slug deposits its eggs in the cotton blossoms, which, when ripe, are pierced through by the young insects, and the staple entirely destroyed. Large spiders are very numerous and mischievous, weaving strong webs upon shrubs and young trees, in such quantities as to check their growth, and even impede the passage through an orchard. A species of woodlouse fastens upon the limbs, entirely covering them, and which speedily exhausts the juices; and their growth is for the time effectually checked. A black rust, firm, hard, and stiff, like strong paper, resembling soot in its appearance, attacks many varieties of trees and plants, covering the bark, and even the leaves, giving them the singular appearance of being clothed in mourning. This causes no permanent damage, and while it disfigures fruit, does not appear seriously to injure it. Rats damage the sugar-cane to a considerable extent, annually. Though the Hawaiian agriculturist escapes many of the evils incidental to other tropical climes, enough exist here to make his labours no sinecure. The noxious vermin, such as musquitoes, fleas, cockroaches, scorpions, and centipedes, are a modern importation, and have extensively increased. The bite of the two latter causes no permanent injury, and is not more injurious than the sting of a common wasp. They are very abundant about the seaports. No serpents, frogs, or toads, have as yet reached the islands. A small lizard is common.

Cabinet woods could be profitably exported; some are of the most beautiful description, equal to the finest Brazilian. The branch Koa is excelled by none in beauty, and the Kamani, Kauila, and Hala, are much prized. The forests are usually very dense, broken by deep chasms, hidden ravines, and deep conical-shaped pits, which appear to have once been

active craters; while the trees are overgrown with masses of ferns, and parasitical vines, thickly interlaced, and spreading their shoots in all directions, which renders it a task of great difficulty to penetrate their recesses. Birds of beautiful plumage and note enliven these solitudes. Wild geese abound at Hawaii, and snipe, plover, and wild ducks, on all the islands. A variety of the owl is very abundant; but nature, in the ornithological as well as the entomological tribe, has been chary of her gifts, and the traveller looks in vain for the endless varieties which more favoured countries within the same latitudes afford. Dogs, swine, rats, and domestic fowls, are indigenous, and, beside the wild-fowl above mentioned, afforded the only varieties of animal food before the introduction of cattle, goats, sheep, and other domestic animals. Horses are abundant, but held at high prices—those imported from California bringing from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty dollars each. The native stock, though much the hardiest, are little used, owing to want of proper training, and the severe treatment they receive when young from their native owners. The stock of cattle, which are the descendants of those introduced by the great English navigator, Vancouver, has greatly increased, and are to be found wild on the principal islands. Their hides, tallow, and flesh, form a productive revenue for the government, and constitute a valuable source of export, adding greatly to the wealth of the kingdom. Laws are framed for their preservation, and they are allowed to be hunted only under certain restrictions. Their annual increase is great; with care, they are said to double their number biennially. Wild goats are numerous, and their skins are also an important article of traffic.

The foreign breed of dogs has increased to such an extent as to be a great evil. Wandering from the habitations of man, they roam in the mountains in packs, like wolves, destroying the young calves and kids, and are even dangerous to man. Many have had narrow escapes from their jaws, and one native, encountering a number in the recess of a

forest, was torn to pieces and devoured. Wild hogs are common, and grow to a great size. The boars are dangerous, and are to be avoided; though, if it were not for the impenetrable nature of the forests, would afford a good species of game. Fish, of which there are a great variety, form one of the chief articles of diet. They consist chiefly of the albicore, bonita, flying-fish, shark, cuttle-fish, eels, prawns, and many species preserved in artificial ponds, which acquire a delicious flavour, and are highly prized. The best of these is the mullet. Edible shell-fish are also abundant, of which the pearl oyster is very palatable. Pearls are common, but of no great size or beauty. They formerly constituted a profitable branch of trade, and were monopolized by the king. The common oyster is not found.

The climate is salubrious, and possesses a remarkable evenness of temperature, so much so, that the language has no word to express the general idea of weather. Remarkable changes, such as a severe storm, or long periods of rain, which on the more populous portions are of rare occurrence, only attract notice. Situated in the midst of the Pacific, the heat produced by a tropical sun is mitigated by the breezes which blow over the wide expanses of ocean, and the shores on either side show but little difference in the results of the thermometer. Physiologists give a certain point of temperature as most conducive to health and longevity. The mean heat of these islands approaches near to it, and is highly favourable to the full development and perfection of animal economy.

Approaching the interior, and ascending the mountains, a gradual change occurs, and any desirable degree of temperature can be attained. On the highest mountains snow remains during most of the year, and in a few exposed situations, throughout the whole. Snow storms are of frequent occurrence on the highlands of Maui, during the winter months; none falls at Oahu; but on the upland region of Kauai, a uniform elevation of four thousand feet, both snow

and hail occasionally occur. The temperature here is quite regular the year through, requiring warm garments and fires even in the month of July. Much rain falls, and the soil is cold, wet, and capable of being turned to little account. A portion of it supports a heavy growth of timber, and is frequented only by wood-cutters. The average temperature of Waimea, Hawaii, situated in the interior, at an elevation of about four thousand feet, is nearly 64° Fahrenheit—48° being the lowest extreme. This place affords an excellent retreat for those whose constitutions have become enervated by too long a residence nearer the coast. Rain is of frequent occurrence at this altitude, but the dryness of the soil seldom leaves the ground damp for any length of time. At Mountain Retreat, back of Lahaina, Maui, at an elevation of three thousand feet, the temperature varies from 40° to 75°—the general average about 60°; but such situations afford few comforts for the sick, and their dampness renders them objectionable.

Some places could be selected on the sea-shore which possess advantages for invalids, particularly those affected with pulmonary complaints. Many individuals, by change of residence, have prolonged their lives for years, and others live with scarcely an admonition of their disease, who, in the less favoured regions of the north, were perpetual sufferers. Lahaina, Kailua, Ewa, and Honolulu, are all good resorts for such. At the former, during ten years, the highest thermometrical elevation, was 86°; the lowest, 54°; thus exhibiting the extreme difference at but 32°. During no day in this period was the difference greater than 19°. June has the highest range—January the lowest. But little rain falls, and for successive months the sun is rarely obscured by clouds.

The common range of the thermometer at Honolulu is 12° per diem. The greatest degree of heat during twelve years, in the shade, was 90°, and 53° for the coldest; the mean is about 75°. Kailua and Ewa vary but little from the above. The following Table will serve to show more particularly

the changes as they occur at Honolulu, and is a fair criterion for places similarly situated on the other islands :—

General Table of Meteorological Observations at Honolulu, from January 1, 1837, to January 1, 1839, with the average of each year; prepared for the "Hawaiian Spectator," by T. Chas. Byde Rooke, F.R.C.S. (Honolulu is in latitude 21° 18′ North, and longitude 158° 1′ West.)

Time.	Barometer.			Fah. Thermometer.			Winds.			Weather.			
	Average height at 7, A.M.	Average height at 2, P.M.	Average height at 10, P.M.	Aver. at 7, A.M.	Aver. at 2, P.M.	Aver. at 10, P.M.	Trades. Days.	Southerly. Days.	Variable. Days.	Fine. Days.	Rainy. Days.	Variable. Days.	Rain during the month. Inches.
1837.													
Jan.	29.970	30.006	30.043	67.9	76.6	71.3	10	14	7	24	3	4	2.0
Feb.	30.076	30.030	30.060	71.1	77.7	72.7	22	4	2	19	3	6	1.7
March....	30.098	30.057	30.087	69.6	76.6	72.4	19	6	6	22	2	7	2.5
April.....	30.128	30.092	30.117	72.1	78.4	73.7	30	0	0	25	4	1	1.2
May.....	30.109	30.085	30.097	73.4	80.2	75.0	30	1	0	29	1	1	0.9
June.....	30.093	30.061	30.085	76.1	81.9	77.5	29	0	1	21	3	6	1.4
July.....	30.115	30.095	30.107	76.4	81.5	77.3	28	1	2	21	7	3	2.8
August....	30.077	30.066	30.087	76.9	82.8	78.1	30	0	1	22	3	6	2.0
Sept.	30.095	30.060	30.097	76.5	83.0	77.0	29	1	0	29	1	0	0.7
Oct.....	30.116	30.076	30.120	74.8	80.6	76.0	26	4	1	28	1	2	0.4
Nov.	30.070	30.029	30.071	72.7	77.9	73.8	19	7	4	18	8	4	4.5
Dec.	30.124	30.072	30.115	69.9	76.5	71.1	23	6	2	27	1	3	1.0
Av. of the yr.	30.128	30.060	30.090	73.1	79.5	74.8	295	44	26	285	37	43	21.1
1838.													
Jan.	30.060	30.028	30.054	69.3	75.6	71.5	21	5	5	25	3	3	0.8
Feb.	33.016	29.970	30.005	71.2	75.3	72.1	20	3	5	18	6	4	8.5
March....	30.105	30.064	30.095	72.0	75.1	72.5	22	3	6	21	4	6	2.1
April.....	30.127	30.095	30.140	71.5	76.7	72.8	29	1	0	27	1	2	1.0
May.....	30.149	30.139	30.162	73.2	80.3	75.5	25	5	1	28	1	2	0.5
June.....	30.085	30.040	30.090	75.5	81.7	77.1	20	7	3	17	3	10	2.5
July.....	30.091	30.068	30.092	76.4	82.5	77.9	26	3	2	24	3	4	1.5
August....	30.078	30.052	30.078	77.2	83.2	78.4	30	1	0	28	1	2	1.2
Sept.	30.073	30.035	30.068	76.7	82.6	78.4	27	2	1	25	3	2	2.5
Oct.....	30.040	30.021	30.142	75.0	80.1	76.9	16	7	8	20	5	6	12.0
Nov.	30.041	30 008	30.144	72.3	76.6	73.7	18	9	3	19	5	6	6.7
Dec.	29.978	29.876	29.993	71.5	76.3	73.3	4	25	2	23	6	2	7.5
Av. of the yr.	30.087	30.033	30.072	73.5	78 8	75.1	258	71	36	275	41	49	46.8

At Koloa Kauai, the thermometer varies from 50° to 88°; at Waioli, from 55° to 90°. Much rain falls here. In many situations, thin or woollen garments can be worn with equal comfort. A change of wind affects the climate materially. During nine months of the year, the north-east trade lasts

with great regularity, and the temperature is very uniform. It frequently blows with considerable violence, almost amounting to a gale; but its great purity and freshness produces an invigorating influence, while its strength frees the islands from all noxious exhalations. Oahu and Kauai are the most influenced by it; Maui, which is larger, has in a few places to the leeward, including Lahaina, the regular land and sea-breeze. Hawaii, from its size and height of mountains, neutralizes its influence, and enjoys an almost uninterrupted land and sea-breeze. This occurs, in some degree, even on its north-east coast, where the trade is usually freshest; the winds partake of the character of the sea-breeze in the day, and during the night are so modified by the influence of the land, as to vary their course from off the shore, or become very light. Where the mountain ranges are broken by steep defiles, as at Kawaihae, and other bays on the west side, the wind rushes through with great violence, gathering strength as it descends, until it passes off to sea. This wind, called by the natives the Mamuka, is frequently very destructive; overturning houses, fences, canoes, and driving vessels from the roads, with loss of anchors or spars. The trades are greatly interrupted during the winter months—the wind from the south and west often prevailing for several successive weeks; calms are also frequent, and of long duration. The south wind brings heavy rain, and is usually loaded with a briny vapour, which is deposited upon vegetation, and causes it to wither as if touched with frost. Its effects are equally disagreeable to the human system. Headaches, catarrhs, rheumatism, and kindred diseases, prevail during their continuance. Upon foreigners its influence is very obvious, causing a compression about the head, and an enervation, which greatly incapacitates the body for all active business; the atmosphere is thick, raw, and at times feels like the heated air of a furnace. The miasma arising from the lagoons, which exist to some extent near Honolulu, on the sea side, is blown back upon

the land. By the natives it is known as the "sick wind," and with great propriety. It sometimes occurs with sufficient force to destroy their frail habitations, and do much damage to plantations and forests. During the winter season, owing to greater abundance of rain, the leeward portions of the islands present a more verdant aspect. Much of the weather at this time is of the most delightful description; the sky is cloudless, the atmosphere dry, clear, and bracing, and the whole system feels the invigorating influence of the change. The moonlight nights are remarkable, and their varied beauty cannot fail to attract the attention of the most indifferent observer. Thunder-storms are of rare occurrence, and light in their nature. No hurricanes or heavy gales have been known.

An epidemic prevailed throughout the group in the years 1803 and 1804. What its precise cause was has never been ascertained; but it occasioned a great mortality—so much so, that the natives state, the living were not able to bury the dead. Though this is doubtless an exaggeration, it proved an active agent in the depopulation of the islands. Since that period nothing of the kind has appeared. There are but few epidemic diseases, and those mostly of a light character. The mumps have prevailed very generally, and in some cases terminated fatally, through mismanagement. The influenza occurs almost annually, but is seldom fatal. The whooping-cough, a few years since, spread through the whole population, but soon entirely spent itself. Contagious diseases are scarcely known, excepting those of a cutaneous nature, which prevail very generally, owing to filthy habits and gross food. The small-pox has raged in the Southern groups; but, notwithstanding the intercourse between these islands and them, has never reached here. Vaccination is very generally practised. The croup sometimes occurs. Hoapili-wahine, a chief woman, of high rank, upwards of seventy years of age, died of this disease in January, 1842. The venereal disease has almost exhausted itself, and is rarely to be met with,

except about the seaports, where the virus is kept active by augmentation from foreign countries. Even in these places it does not prevail either extensively or fatally; nor can it be said materially to retard the increase of population at the present time.

To foreigners, and particularly to children, the climate has proved of the most salubrious nature. It may be doubted if any more conducive to general health can be found. The diseases, when compared with those of other regions, are but few, and of a milder form. To other causes than to the effects of climate, the great decline in the native population is to be traced. Their diseases are greatly to be attributed to their wretched manner of living—damp habitations, insufficient clothing, poverty, prevalence of quackery, and general low estimate of life—causes which, it is believed, owing to gradual improvements, are annually less active in their nature, and in time will mostly be checked.

Powerful volcanic eruptions, attended with disastrous effects, have occurred in Hawaii several times within the memory of the present generation. Some of the most tremendous of the craters, such as those of Mauna Haleakala, (house of the sun,) in Maui, at an elevation of eleven thousand feet, have been quiescent from a period beyond the traditions of the inhabitants. Earthquakes are mostly confined to the largest island; the shocks felt at Maui are slight. The immense craters with which the former island abounds, serve for a beneficent end; they operate as safety-valves, by which the pent gases, generated by the vast subterranean fires, escape. Without them, the thin crusts of lava which constitute the foundation of the island, would be rent asunder; and it would become a terrific waste. Shocks are frequent, but without sufficient strength to be very destructive. Trees are thrown down, rocks split, and the scene of action otherwise affected. At Hilo, in November, 1838, during the space of eight days, from forty to fifty shocks occurred. Twelve distinct ones were counted in one night.

For two days and nights, the earth was in a state of continual agitation, the plants and flowers trembling like frightened animals. In some cases the motion was perpendicular, like that of a ship pitching, and attended by noises and sensations similar to those produced by heavy waves striking against her sides, and some degree of nausea was felt. In others, the motion was lateral, easy, and undulating, unaccompanied by any sounds. In April, 1841, several more powerful shocks were experienced at the same place; one of which was quite severe. The houses were violently shaken, and had they not been constructed of yielding materials, would have been prostrated. The plastering was shattered, crockery ware destroyed, milk thrown from pans, stone walls cast down, and other damage done. In March, of the same year, several, of a severe nature, occurred at Kailua, which threw down much rock from the *pali*. These shocks were distinctly felt throughout Maui.

On the 25th of September, 1825, a shower of meteoric stones occurred at Honolulu. Reports like the firing of cannon, and the repeated discharges of musketry, were heard at about 10 o'clock in the morning. The first supposition was, that a naval action was taking place in the immediate neighbourhood; but the fall of many fragments of rock, weighing from ten to twenty pounds, accompanied by a whizzing sound, explained the nature of the noises. They struck with sufficient force to create cavities in the coral rock, and the pieces presented a grayish-black exterior, with a yellowish appearance on the fractured portions.

A remarkable oscillation of the ocean was observed in 1837, throughout the group. In 1819, one on a lesser scale, and unattended with any fatal consequences, occurred. It was considered by the natives as prognosticating some dire event to their nation, and the death of Kamehameha, which took place soon after, was supposed to be the consummation. Upon its recurrence, in 1837, the death of his son Kauikeouli, or some high chief, was confidently predicted; but as no

national calamity ensued, this superstition was materially weakened. On the evening of the 7th of November, the commotion of the waters was first noticed at Honolulu. Neither the barometer or thermometer indicated any unusual atmospherical changes. At 5 o'clock it was observed the sea was retiring. This it did with such rapidity as to cause much alarm among the foreigners, who were fearful its reaction would overwhelm the town, like the great wave which destroyed Callao, in 1746, while hundreds of the native population, shouting and frolicking, followed its retreat, picking up the stranded fish, and viewing the whole as a rare piece of fun. Many, however, seemed otherwise affected, and the dismal cry which was raised in the stillness of the night, carried the news far inland.

The first recession was the greatest, being more than eight feet; the reefs were left entirely dry, and the fishes died. The vessels not in the deepest water, grounded; but the sea quickly returned, and in twenty-eight minutes reached the ordinary height of the highest tides: it then commenced receding again, and fell six feet.* It rose a few inches higher on its third return, and fell six and a half feet. This action continued, with a gradually diminishing force and extent, throughout that night, and the forenoon of the ensuing day. The greatest rapidity with which it fell, was twelve inches in thirty seconds.

On Hawaii and Maui, the phenomenon was more powerful, and occasioned considerable loss of property and lives. Its action increased to the windward, and the northern sides of the islands were the most affected. At Maui, the sea retired about twenty fathoms, and returned with great speed, in one immense wave, which swept before it houses, trees, canoes, and all else exposed to its fury. At the village of Kahului, the inhabitants, as at Honolulu, followed with rapturous delight the retreating wave, when suddenly it turned

* Hawaiian Spectator, vol. i. no. 1, p. 104.

upon them, and, rising like a steep wall, rushed forward to the shore, burying the natives in its foam, and destroying the whole hamlet. The amphibious character of the islanders proved their safety, though they were obliged to mourn the loss of two of their number, and the destruction of all their personal effects.

At Byron's Bay, Hawaii, the village was crowded with people, who had collected to attend a religious meeting. At half-past six o'clock the sea retired at the rate of five miles an hour, leaving a great portion of the harbour dry, and reducing the soundings in other places from five to three and a half fathoms. The wondering multitude, in their simplicity, eagerly rushed to the beach to witness the novel sight; quickly a gigantic wave came roaring towards them at a speed of seven to eight miles an hour, and, rising twenty feet above high-water mark, dashed upon the coast with a stunning noise, resembling a heavy crash of thunder. The people were buried in its flood; houses, canoes, fish-ponds, animals, in short, property of all kinds, were mingled in one common ruin. Cries of distress filled the air. Those in the water were struggling for their lives, amid the wreck of houses, and entangled among floating timber, while their relatives who had escaped the torrent, were loudly bewailing their situation. The wave which had rushed inland, had in its way dashed over the deck of an English whaler at anchor in the bay. As soon as the crew recovered from the shock, they lowered their boats, and through their exertions many lives were saved. Not a canoe had escaped, and numbers of the people, stunned and insensible, were floating rapidly seaward. The destruction of property was universal; even the garnered food was swept off. In two hamlets alone, sixty-six habitations were destroyed, and eleven lives lost. Other portions of the sea-coast suffered in like proportion. No shocks of earthquakes, or any tremor of the earth were experienced, though the action of the crater of Kilauea, the night previous, was uncommonly furious. In some spots its fires

were quenched; in others, chasms were opened with violent explosions. It would appear from the simultaneousness of the commotion throughout the group, that it originated at some distance. The wave struck the several islands from apparently the same direction.

May 17th, 1841, the same circumstance, though of a much less general nature, and attended with no loss of life, took place. At twenty minutes past five o'clock, P.M., the water in the harbour of Honolulu was observed to be suddenly discoloured and breaking like a tide-rip. It then rushed rapidly out, leaving a portion of the harbour and all the reef bare. This occurred twice in the space of forty minutes, when it resumed its ordinary appearance. The fall was estimated at three feet. Simultaneously, at Lahaina, a distance of one hundred miles, the rise and fall of the water was several feet, and occurred frequently, at intervals of four minutes each, rushing violently and with great noise over the reefs. At about this period a similar scene was noticed on the coast of Kamtschatka.

An immense water-spout broke over this harbour in May, 1809. The day was calm, with a clear atmosphere, when it was first observed. A heavy, dark cloud hung over its body, which appeared to be of the size of a stout mast. As it advanced, its bulk increased, until it attained the thickness of a hogshead. Its progress was slow, accompanied with a violent ebullition of the water at its base. Upon touching the reefs the column broke, causing a sudden rise of the sea of three feet on the beach. Great numbers of fish were destroyed by the force of the mass of water which fell. A few years before, one broke on the north side of the island, washed away a number of houses, and drowned several of the inhabitants.

CHAPTER II.

Early Hawaiian History—Former intercourse between the Hawaiian Islands and the Tahitan—Samoan and Marquesian groups—Beautiful Superstition of "Youth-renewing Fountain"—Creation of first Inhabitants—Flood—Origin of the World—of Hawaii—Ancient Hawaiian Kings—Government—Common Law—Cruelties—Kingly Power—Police—Chiefs—Retinues—Rank—How derived—Orders of Nobility—Homage—Public Councils and Meetings—Conduct of Superiors towards Inferiors—Litigation—Ordeals—Praying to Death—Sorcery—Soothsayers or Magicians—Character of Religion—Notions of Future State—Hawaiian Hades—Ideas in regard to Souls—Milu—Idols—Different Classes of Male and Female—God Lono—Goddess Pele and her Family—Hawaiian Centaur—Fabrication of Idols—Temples or "*heiaus*"—Ceremonies attending Consecration—Human Sacrifices—Victims—How obtained—Animal and Vegetable Offerings—Diviners—Priesthood—Ranks—General Character—Taxes of Priesthood—Remarkable Privileges—Tabus—Origin and Meaning of the Word—Present application—Penalties attached to Violation of Tabus—"Pahonuas," or Cities of Refuge—Comparison between the Religions and Governments of the Different Groups—General Character of all, previous to the introduction of Christianity.

THE early history of the Hawaiian nation, like that of all savages, derived only through the uncertain medium of oral traditions, is vague, and but slightly calculated to reward the researches of the curious. Their origin is involved in obscurity, on which their own fables, and historical and sacred *mele's* or songs, are calculated to throw but little light. A certain uniformity in the earliest traditions and the traits of the most savage nations exists, which would seem to indicate a common origin, or may be the result of necessities, which, under like circumstances, adopt the same means to effect corresponding ends. This may account for customs of a common character, so frequently observed in tribes widely separated by geographical limits, and without any means of communication. The barrenness of the savage intellect affords but partial scope for observation and improvement. The same idea which would call into existence certain forms or habits

of life in one latitude, would be equally as like to arise in another. Hence, but little confidence can be placed in deductions founded upon a conformity in a few isolated customs, among different barbarous communities. But, when affinities of language, physiological resemblances, corresponding manners, and religious belief, and, more particularly, well-established traditions, pointing to a common origin, appear among tribes which, in modern times, have lost all means of communication, the inquirer finds tenable grounds for believing in a general relationship. This appears to be the case throughout Polynesia. The language spoken in the groups so widely diffused over the Pacific Ocean, has the same common structure, with but such differences as may be resolved into dialects—the result of long non-intercourse; while other peculiarities are rightly to be attributed to local causes—difference of soils, climates, and governments. The New Zealander and Hawaiian, though more than four thousand miles apart, with all the intermediate tribes, are members of one family, and require but a short period to acquire the faculty of a free exchange of ideas.

The fact that intercourse formerly existed between the various groups is well authenticated. According to traditions, voyages were of common occurrence. In those days their canoes were said to be larger and better constructed than at the present. From some of the circumstances related concerning them, it is not improbable that they were the very boats, or *proas*, (perhaps of Malay origin,) which brought the first inhabitants to Hawaii, and which continued to be employed as long as they were seaworthy, in keeping up the intercourse with the mother island. The frail canoes of modern times would seem ill adapted to voyages of between two and three thousand miles in length. Within the influence of the trade winds, heavy blows sometimes occur, and powerful rains with sudden squalls. In the most favourable weather, such canoes might perform the voyage in safety, by stopping at the numerous intervening coral islands, for rest

and refreshment. Still it would be more a matter of accident than skill. Even with better means of conveyance, it is not to be wondered that these voyages should have been discontinued, as no traffic existed, and curiosity or the love of relatives were the only impelling motives.

It is impossible to ascertain when these venturous navigators relinquished their voyages. From the indefiniteness of the recollections concerning them, it must have been many ages since. Certain points of departure, as the southern extremities of Kahoolawe and Hawaii, are still designated as the "*foreign roads.*" In their *melès*, the names of Nukahiva, Tahuata, two islands of the Marquesian group, Vavau and Savaii, of the Samoan, Tahiti, and others in that neighbourhood, frequently appear. Names of head-lands, or towns, in many of these, are also common to others. Tahiti was the name more commonly known, and appears to have been the island most visited. Popular opinion points to it as the source from whence Hawaii was peopled. So vague, however, had their ideas become in this respect, that it was applied to any foreign country, and to this day its actual signification answers to the English term, "abroad." Bolabola, the name of an adjoining island, is applied to Tahiti.

The meaning thus attached to Tahiti, arose, no doubt, from the circumstance, that, after the voyages ceased, it was the only country, the knowledge of which remained popular among the common people. The names of the others were preserved among the priests and chiefs, though with an indistinctness that ultimately must have consigned them to oblivion. With the advantage of a written language, the knowledge of America was lost, or but obscurely remembered by the adventurous Northmen.

A few of the traditions relative to the earliest history of the islands are of an interesting nature. The first inhabitants are related to have brought with them from Tahiti, a hog, a dog, and a pair of fowls. Before landing, they asked and obtained permission of the gods, then the sole denizens of

this region, to remain. The arrival of a chief is also noticed, who settled and sent for his son.

Other voyages are spoken of; one of which was made by a priest, in obedience to a communication from his god, who, in a vision, revealed to him the existence, situation, and distance, of Tahiti, and ordered him to proceed thither. Obeying this injunction, he set sail from Hawaii, with forty companions, in four double canoes. After an absence of fifteen years, they returned, and gave an interesting account of a country which they had visited, called Haupokane. It was bordered with fine sandy beaches, abounding in shell-fish. The inhabitants were fair to behold, possessed much wealth, and delicious fruits were plentiful.

The name of this Hawaiian Colon was *Kamapiikai*, which means "a child running over the sea." He afterward made three voyages to the same place, accompanied by numerous trains of followers, who were tempted by his glowing descriptions of the newly-discovered land, to share his fortunes. From the fourth he never returned, and is supposed to have perished at sea.

The most remarkable circumstance connected with this tale, is the "water of enduring life," *wai-ola-loa;* a fountain or stream said to exist in the land of Haupokane. It possessed even more marvellous properties than the far-famed "Fountain of Youth," which Ponce De Leon vainly sought for, in 1512, in Florida. By bathing in its miraculous waters, people, however aged or infirm, deformed or ugly, maimed or diseased, were immediately restored to youth, strength, and beauty. Such being the reputation of this stream, it is no matter of surprise, that Kamapiikai was able to entice numbers to brave with him the dangers of the ocean. Report does not say, whether his crews were composed only of those whose necessities required such a bath. If they were, it will more readily account for his final loss, than his previous success. It is not altogether improbable that the Hawaiians derived this story from some of their early Spanish visitors.

who had received it from the Indians of Cuba; or it may have been a superstition common to both races.

An opinion was prevalent, that the first inhabitants descended from the gods, or were created on the islands. But this may be referred to a still earlier period, and different locality. Such traditions being found to exist among all nations, they evidently point to the common origin of the human species. The world of each, being mostly confined to its immediate neighbourhood, this, as all remembrance of the primary migrations were gradually lost, would naturally be selected as the site of the miraculous creation.

A tradition of the flood likewise exists, which states that all the land, except the summit of Mauna-kea, was overflowed by copious rains and risings of the waters. Some of the inhabitants preserved themselves in a canoe, which finally rested upon that mountain; after which the waters fell, and the people went forth, and again dwelt in the land. This flood is called *Kaiakahnialii*, the great deluge of *Hinalii*.

Their traditions, like those of the ancients, refer to the period of perpetual night, or a state of chaos, before the world existed. Nothing that now is, was then created, except some of their gods. The present state was called the "state of light," and creation was a transition from darkness to light. Any reference to existence from the earliest time was expressed thus, "from the state of confusion or darkness, until now." Hawaii was said to have been produced from a large egg, deposited by an immense bird upon the water, which, bursting, formed the present island.

Maui, a god, is said to have laid his hand upon the sun, and arrested its course, to give his wife time to finish work which she was anxious to complete before dark. The analogy to be observed in this story with the miracle of Joshua, is striking. Whatever may have been the original condition of Hawaiian civilization, it is evident that they formerly possessed simpler and more accurate ideas of divine worship; dim traditionary recollections, derived from primeval ages, before mankind had

become altogether corrupt. At this day, it is impossible to discriminate between what may be the genuine legends of remote antiquity, and the crude recollections of the teachings and tales of their civilized visitors of the sixteenth century.

The query, "whence the Polynesian family," has been much discussed. Dr. Lang's "View of the Origin and Migration of the Polynesian Nation," throws some light upon this perplexing question. There is no difficulty in accounting for the islands being peopled; for it has been found that frail canoes and boats, either by accident or design, have performed voyages of sufficient extent to have arrived at the most distant lands. Japanese junks have been blown to sea, and finally stranded with their occupants upon remote islands, and have reached even the continent of America, in the 46th degree of north latitude. In December, 1832, one was wrecked on Oahu, after having been tossed upon the ocean for eleven months: four, out of a crew of nine, survived. Similar accidents have no doubt happened centuries since. Lord North's island, a mere rock, of scarcely two miles circuit, and upwards of a thousand miles distant from any other land, has a numerous population; originating probably from some such a casualty. Canoes, crowded with occupants of both sexes, are annually picked up at sea, long distances from their places of departure, and drifting about at the mercy of the weather. The continent of Asia, from the numerous intervening islands, affords more facilities for reaching Polynesia in this manner, than America, though stragglers from the latter have doubtless from time to time added to the population, and thus created a mixture of customs, which, to some extent, indicate an origin from both. The probabilities are greatly in favour of Asia, both from certain affinities of tongue, and from striking resemblances in manners, idols, clothing, and physical conformation. All conclusions, with the present light upon this subject, must necessarily be speculative, and of little practical utility. China was known to Egypt more than two thousand years before the birth of Christ, and a commercial intercourse main-

tained between the two countries. Africa was circumnavigated by the ancient Egyptian mariners: among the relics of their primary high condition of civilization, cultivated science and literature, indications of an acquaintance with the continent of America are to be traced. Upon further development of the history of the earliest records of our race, it may be found that the geography of the world was better known than we are at present aware of—and the peopling of isolated positions, and the migrations of nations, to have been performed with a definite knowledge of the general features of the globe. This, as well as their purer forms of faith, became obscured in the night of ages, when darkness and ignorance settled like a pall upon the nations of the earth; and, after a lapse of four thousand years, glimmerings only of the truth are revealed, in the fables of a multitude of distinct tribes of men; the coincidence of which is a striking proof of a common parentage.

A genealogy of the kings of Hawaii and their wives, exists from a period long antecedent to 1778, though but few facts of an interesting nature have been preserved. Kahiko (ancient) was the name of the first man, and Kupulanakahau the first woman. A son called Wakea sprung from them. Kukalaniehu, and his wife Kakulaua, were among the first settlers from abroad. They had a daughter who married Wakea. These became the progenitors of the whole Hawaiian race. The generations of kings whose names have been preserved in their historical *melès* are seventy-four, from the last of whom descended Kamehameha. Many marvellous things are related of these men and their consorts. Papa was said to be the mother of the islands, and to have created the kalo plant, by planting a deformed child, from which it grew. Another, Hema, sailed to a foreign land, there found a husband, had her eyes put out, and miserably perished.

The brother of Kana was a famous warrior, and remarkable deeds are attributed to him. His stature was so great that he could wade the ocean, and, colossus-like, stand with one foot upon Oahu and the other upon Kauai, seventy miles

distant. On one occasion, the Hawaiians gave offence to the king of Tahiti, who, in revenge, deprived them of the sun. Kana not relishing the darkness, walked through the sea to Tahiti, where the maker of the sun, Kahoaalii, lived. Having obtained it, he returned and placed it where it still remains. But stories like these, originating in the imaginations of the bards, or superstitions of the people, have neither interest or value. The lives of the rulers were stained with the usual crimes of heathenism, and occupied with wars and dissensions. One, Luamuo, it is said, died a natural death, amid his court, as a reward for his extraordinary virtue. Another, by the name of Puiakalani, becoming disgusted with the continued dissensions among his subjects, which he was called on to adjust, resigned his power, saying to the people, "I am tired of ruling over the land, and will no longer have care of it. It will be better for you, my subjects, to look after your own lands in a way to suit yourselves; while I will take care of my own." The government being without a head, great confusion ensued, and the people soon petitioned their prince to resume his former station, which he did with additional power. To him is attributed the originating of the general feudal principle, that the whole country belonged exclusively to the king; and all lands from that time were held in fief. The great increase of tyranny was chiefly owing to the devotion paid to warriors; the most illustrious of whom were feared and worshipped as superior beings, and were sought after to lead their armies in battle. As in all governments, when the army holds the sway, despotic power soon became the inheritance of its favourite chiefs; and long and bitterly the people rued their misplaced partiality. The same means which obtained them supreme authority, were used to promote it. Officers, soldiers, relations, and all interested in their success, were rewarded by gifts of lands and people. New and more rigorous laws were enforced, until every vestige of former liberty was entirely lost.

It is probable that the political condition of the country

during this period, was much the same as when first visited by Captain Cook: wars and famine, peace and plenty, alternating according to the dispositions of the ruling princes. The prevalence of such a system must effectually have checked any tendency to mental or physical advancement.

Before the conquest of Kamehameha, the several islands were ruled by independent kings, who were frequently at war with each other, and more often with their own subjects. As one chief acquired sufficient strength, he disputed the title of the reigning prince; and if successful, his chance of permanent power was quite as precarious as that of his predecessor. In some instances the title established by force of arms remained in the same family for several generations, disturbed, however, by frequent rebellions. The rich valleys were claimed by separate tribes, whose principal occupation was to prey upon their neighbours; the highlands were arrayed against the lowlands; robbers infested all the public paths, or lurked amid the recesses of the forest. The smallest trifle of property was a sufficient temptation to murder; and no individual was safe, away from the immediate precincts of his own village. The traveller of the present day hears from the lips of their descendants many a tale of horror, as they direct his notice to the haunts of these men of blood and lust. These dark features will be found to be relieved by a few lighter shades, when the general character of the ancient government is understood.

It was a complete despotism, modified, to some extent, by certain customs or regulations, which had been promulgated in the early periods of their history, by the high chiefs, and which, from their general usefulness and antiquity, were considered in the light of a traditionary code. These related principally to the tenure of lands, personal security, right of property, and barter. Such was the force of public sentiment upon these subjects, that the chiefs hesitated to violate the spirit of their meaning. By them the amount of taxes or labour due to the chiefs from their dependants, and his duties

to them, were, to some extent, regulated. This species of common law was particularly binding in regard to the means of irrigation, on which the whole value of their crops depended. It regulated the amount of water for each plantation, varied according to the dryness of the season. In barter, no bargain was considered as binding until the articles were exchanged, and both parties expressed themselves satisfied; after which, no withdrawal was permitted, whatever might be the consequence. A common practice existed of paying workmen in advance. Should they then refuse to perform the stipulated work, their property was seized and their plantations destroyed. In criminal cases, the law of retaliation prevailed, except toward their immediate chiefs, who could commit any trespass, or even murder, at their option. In other cases, the injured party retaliated to the extent of their desires, unless they were too weak—in which event, an appeal to the king, or chief of the district, brought some light punishment upon the offender; murder being punished simply by banishment. Theft was more severely dealt with: those who had suffered in their houses or farms, repaired to the property of the guilty party, even if they were the strongest, and seized upon every available article. Public opinion was so powerful on this subject, that the whole people would sustain those who thus desired to obtain redress. This species of *lex talionis* seems in no way calculated to have improved their morals, though perhaps suited to their circumstances. In their customs the greatest hospitality prevailed. So freely were gifts bestowed, that almost a community of property existed; and no man would refuse food to his bitterest enemy, should he enter his house. Thus the temptation to theft was much diminished, and the heinousness of the offence aggravated. If a robbery was committed on the property of a high chief, the offender was sometimes bound hand and foot, placed in a decayed canoe, and committed to the waters, to await a lingering death.

Such were the nature of some of their regulations, which while they tended, to some extent, to create a security of

property and person among the common people, in their transactions with each other, afforded but little safety against oppression on the part of their chiefs. The king could dispense with any of them, and the chiefs likewise—though an appeal to the king afforded some security against this latter abuse. The will of the monarch constituted the supreme law; consequently the government partook of his personal character, being more or less arbitrary, according to his disposition.

Kumalái, an ancient king of Maui, is noted in their annals for his oppression, and his memory is still fresh among the people, on account of a road of flat stones which he caused to be made around the island, part of which exists to this day. Another of these Caligulas, whose memory was universally execrated, was Huakau, a king of Hawaii. His disposition was so malicious, that, seeing the leg of a man more handsomely tataued than his own, he immediately ordered it to be cut off. A good-looking face, or handsome hair, if unfortunate enough to attract his attention, were sufficient to cause the possessor to be beheaded. The bleeding head was brought to him, to be mangled and hacked in a most wanton manner. He finally was slain in a conspiracy between Umi, a rival king, and two aged men whom he had abused. The general character of the chiefs was such as boundless power, engrafted upon savage dispositions and sensual appetites, would be calculated to produce.

The kingly authority extended over the lives, liberty, and property of all, and was delegated to the governors of the islands, or great districts, and from them to inferior officers. No chief could interfere with the tenant of another, and should he desire revenge or justice, it could only be obtained through the legitimate lord. The greatest safeguard of the people consisted in the self-interest of their masters, whose wealth and power depended chiefly on the number of their bondmen. The king was chief magistrate, and the ultimate source of appeal.

No regular police existed. The immediate attendants of the chiefs executed their orders. These attendants were numerous, every person of rank being supplied according to his grade. A certain number were bosom friends, who always remained privileged idlers about the persons of their lords, having no voice in political affairs: the others held different offices in the household, more or less menial, and constituted a permanent establishment. The principal of these were "pipe lighters," "spittoon carriers," "*kahili* bearers," "purloiners," "assassins," "cooks," &c. All ate, drank, and slept in common.

These retinues were formed immediately upon the birth of a chief of either sex, and each was designated by some peculiar title, generally of a whimsical character,—as "the fragments," "musquitoes," "umbrellas," &c. The care of the children devolved upon "*kahus*," or nurses, who assumed the sole direction, until the child was capable of exercising its own will; a period, which, as no contradiction to its caprices was allowed, soon arrived.

Rank was hereditary, and descended chiefly from the females, who frequently held the reins of government in their own right. This custom originated in the great license existing between the sexes; no child, with certainty, being able to designate his father, while no mistake could be made in regard to the mother.

Three distinct orders of nobles existed. The first embraced the kings, queens, and all branches of the royal family. It also included the chief advisers, or counsellors, though of inferior birth. Governors, or chiefs of large districts, were included in the second; and the third embraced the lords of villages, priests, and those who held estates, by payment of regular taxes, which were raised by their own dependants, or those to whom they had farmed out lands.

Servile homage was paid to superiors, particularly to priests and chiefs of the highest rank. Their persons could not be touched, or their houses entered, without permission. All

must prostrate themselves when they appeared, and death was the penalty of the slightest infringement of any degree of etiquette which the law required to be exercised towards them, or their rites. The people were attached to the soil, and transferred with the land, like the serfs of modern times. They had no voice in the government. The advice of the principal chiefs was taken, in matters of importance, by the king, though he was responsible to no one. No regular council existed, but the political deliberations were conducted with considerable diplomatic skill and secrecy. Their results were promulgated to the people by heralds and messengers, whose offices were hereditary, and considered highly honourable.

Public meetings, for discussing national affairs, were sometimes held. Orators and councillors, whose offices were also hereditary, spoke on these occasions, and with a degree of refinement and eloquence which bespoke much previous preparation.

Among the chiefs a considerable degree of courtesy prevailed, and a difference of language and demeanour, which betokened conscious rank. Perhaps in no other point was the exclusiveness of the aristocracy more strongly characterized. In every department of life a distinction was made, as if contact with the people, by touch, use of the same articles, houses, food, or bathing places, would produce contamination. From such rules and deportment, so great a physical difference arose, that many superficial observers considered the two as distinct races. The chiefs formed a conventional dialect, understood only among themselves ; in it novel words were incorporated or formed, which, if they came to be understood by the common orders, were immediately discarded, and others substituted. Towards the common people their conduct was of the most oppressive character. No respect to their persons or property was shown. Their only security was to avoid their presence. To use the expressive language of their descendants, " their restrictions were like the poisoned

tooth of a reptile." If a common man made use of any consecrated property belonging to a chief; or if a man walked in the shade of the house of a chief, with his head besmeared with clay, or with a wreath about it, with it wet, or wearing a *kihei*,—a *kapa* mantle,—or violated any one of numerous other regulations, equally whimsical and absurd, he lost his life. At sea, if their canoes interrupted their progress, they were overturned; on land, if the shadow of an individual fell upon the king, or he did not prostrate himself when anything was carried to or from his majesty, the punishment was death. This was likewise the case, should any one place his hand upon his head, or be found in a more elevated position. The laws of etiquette were of the most varied nature, dependent greatly upon the caprices of the prince. Justice, or humanity, were utterly set aside, though, as before remarked, the personal disposition of the sovereign greatly affected the whole system of government. But the humane character of the few was but a slight relief from the cruel and capricious desires of the many. Priestcraft lent all its adventitious aids to support this system, from which it derived its own existence. So that but two classes really existed, the oppressor and oppressed;—those who laboured, and those who reaped.

In cases of litigation, some appearance of judicial forms was preserved. Both parties were generally summoned before the king, or chief, and heard before judgment was pronounced; in the execution of which no unnecessary delays occurred. Ordinarily, cases were left to the priests, whose examinations were more calculated to appeal to the superstitious fears of the real or fancied criminal, than to produce any direct evidences of guilt. Ordeals of a singular nature were practised. One was the "*wai halulu*," shaking water, a large dish of which was placed before the culprit, while a prayer was offered by the priest. Both hands were required to be held over the fluid, as the priest gazed stedfastly upon it. Should the water tremble, an event, by little chicanery, very likely

to occur, the fate of the victim was sealed. However, this was much superior to the hot iron and water ordeals of civilized Europe, the termination of which was necessarily fatal.

The delusion of "praying to death" exercised a powerful influence over their minds. Chiefs and common people alike felt its force, though the former, it is to be supposed, seldom came under its baneful operation. Even to this day this superstition exists, though rapidly wearing away. Like the remembrance of goblin tales, the influence is long felt after all belief is destroyed. As a powerful engine of government and priesthood, it was to be feared and deprecated equally by the innocent as by the guilty.

Sorcery and witchcraft were also extensively practised, and exerted a power not inferior to the above, which may be considered as a kindred practice, depending for its success upon the same credulity and ignorance. *Kilo* was the term applied to that class who predicted future events from the appearances of the heavens, crowing of cocks, or barking of dogs. It was analogous, and perhaps coeval with the practice of soothsaying among the more polished nations of antiquity.

The priests were frequently applied to, to detect those guilty of theft. The complainant was obliged to pay a fee, generally a pig, in advance. Then the following ceremonies were enacted. Two sticks of green wood were rubbed together, until the friction produced a kind of powder, resembling snuff, sufficiently hot, upon being blown upon, when applied to dried grass, to kindle into a flame. This was used to fire a pile of wood. Three *kukui* nuts were then broken, and one of the kernels thrown into the fire. While this was burning, a prayer was uttered, accompanied with an anathema, "to kill the fellow." The same ceremony was repeated until the nuts were consumed, unless the thief appeared and made restitution, which generally happened. The offence was then punished with a heavy fine. Should the culprit have neglected to appear, his fate was considered

as inevitable. A proclamation was made throughout the island by the king, that theft had been committed, and the guilty prayed to death. So firm was their belief in the power of these prayers to arouse the avenging deity, that the miserable victim generally pined away, and fell a sacrifice to his fears. When we consider the powerful influence which the Church of Rome exercised over those who acknowledged her authority, throwing, by her paper interdicts, a whole kingdom into a state of distress, scarcely conceivable in modern times, we find little to excite wonder in the "praying to death" of the poor savage.

No spirit of benevolence pervaded their religion. It was a gloomy and fearful principle, abounding in punishments for the present life, and dark threatenings for the future. Among the lowest orders no distinct idea of futurity prevailed. A general opinion that there was a future state, existed, and with it vague expectancies of rewards and punishments. In their corrupted minds the simple truth of one all-creative power, the "Great Spirit" of the American Indians, had no being. Their traditions referred to the creation of the world, and the deluge; but even then, according to their ideas, a multiplicity of gods existed. The knowledge of the true God was lost among many families soon after the world became peopled; else was buried amid a mass of superstitions and heathen ceremonies, which each successive generation increased. This was emphatically the case with the Hawaiians. However simple their faith originally had been, almost all traces of truth were lost at their discovery. Every age became more corrupt, and, at that date, the cup of heathenism was full. Savage rites and blood-loving deities, a cruel priesthood and rapacious governments, inhuman faiths and absurd superstitions, were the burdens which the people were required to believe and sustain. From the perusal of the stories of this dark era, as gathered from their own lips, it would seem as if human depravity had reached its limits, and that the people must

have gradually wasted away, like a mass of corruption, or have boldly cast off the slough with which they were enveloped. A religion which inculcates some degree of morality, however small, or allows latitude for the better principles of humanity, even if checked and almost destroyed by surrounding depravity, will exert a beneficial influence, sufficient to temper the general evil. This was the case with the Buddhistic creed, and the simple faith of the ancient Peruvians. But here no such freedom prevailed. The system had degenerated into unmixed evil, and the good, like that derived from government, the result of individual action. Fortunately for humanity, the most barbarous belief will, at times, yield to the natural instincts of the man; and faiths, however cruel in their exactions, often become comparatively mild in their application.

The religion of the Hawaiians, as it existed when they became known to the civilized world, incorporated no abstract principles of belief. It was rather a system of worldly despotism, better calculated to perpetuate the power of the priests, than to direct the ideas of the people to concerns of eternal interest. Deities, ceremonies, and restrictions, had been indefinitely multiplied; so that it presented a confused mass of dark superstitions, based upon the slavish fear and ignorance of the people.

The contradictory ideas that prevailed in regard to a future state, attest the indefiniteness of their belief on this point. Their revelations were derived from dreams and pretended visions of the priests. By some, it was supposed that the souls of the departed went to Po, (place of night,) where they were annihilated, or eaten by the gods. Others, considered the regions of Akea and Milu the final resting-places. These were former kings of Hawaii, who, after death, went below and founded kingdoms, which became the Hades of the Hawaiian Islands. Darkness prevailed here, and lizards and butterflies were the only diet. The spirits of the departed were sometimes sent back with messages to the living. These

pretended messages were expounded, greatly to their own interest, by the priests, and were received as divine commands by the people.* There were two gods, one of whom was called *Kaonohiokala*, the eye-ball of the sun, who conducted the spirits of the chiefs to some place in the heavens, where it was supposed their rulers dwelt after death. They

* Hawaiians supposed they had two souls, one of which always remained with the body; the other had the power of leaving it, for good or evil; to aid a friend, or to pursue an enemy; a belief somewhat similar to the Hebrew dæmonology. A class of priests were supposed to possess the power of exorcising the evil-inclined spirits, and of altogether destroying them. Their souls were thought to be distinct from the body, though in near relationship; hence they called them *hoapili o ke kino*, "close-adhering companions of the body."

In the following commencement of a "*melè*," an ode to the soul, composed by Maewa, a modern Hawaiian and a Christian, he still recognises the old belief of two distinct yet familiar existences. The present race generally consider their souls as having the same relation to their bodies, as their shadows.

"Aloha, ka ahane, ka hoapili o ke kino;
I pili ka ua me ka la.
A o ke anuenue me ke koekoe,
Aloha kuu hoa ohumu o kahi kanaka ole.
A o hoi na, kuu hoapili, o ka ua lanipo lua,
Hoa ae ole o na kai ewalu,
A me na makani eha;
Kuu hoa o ka maona kawalawala,
A me ka maka poniuniu ai ole;
He pokakaa, la e noho anei,
A hala na makahiki eha,
Malaila no ka halialia aloha ana mai," &c.

TRANSLATION.

"Farewell, thou soul, the body's *near companion*,
Companion in the rain and in the sun,
In the piercing cold, and in the chilly damp.
Farewell, my soul; we have communed together in the still retreat,
Been companions in the crowd and in the silent places.
And thou art going, my bosom friend, in the dark storm,
Who rodest with me o'er the waves of the eight seas,*
And when contending with the four winds;
My companion in rare-full meals,
And in long-fasting faintness.
While living here, the sun has onward rolled,
And four full years have past;
'Tis but a vapour of a loved remembrance," &c.

The remainder of this ode, with an excellent translation by Rev. L. Andrews, of the Sandwich Islands Mission, will be found in the Polynesian for July, 1840.

* The several channels between the islands.

sometimes returned to the earth, and watched over the welfare of their survivors. By this belief, it will be seen that the spiritual destinies of the nobles were well provided for, by the complaisant priests; in return, probably, for favours received from the living. Servitude was the lot of the common people in this life, and no hope enlightened their souls for the future.

Their gods were many, and received constant additions from the most trivial circumstances. Every object of fear, or from which harm could be derived, was worshipped. Sharks, volcanoes, and any singular appearance in the natural kingdom, had each their devotees. There were household deities, some of ludicrous and obscene character, like the Roman Penates; gods of war, the sea, seasons, crops, and of the winds; also of precipices, or dangerous places in travelling; images were placed on such to receive the offerings of the devout. Among the principal were *Lono*, *Ku*, *Kane*, and *Kanaloa;* these were male gods. Those of the other sex were common; of which *Papa*, *Huhoku*, *Walinu*, and *Kahawahine*, were the most celebrated. All of these appear to have had a human origin; being mostly deified kings and queens. So sensualized were they as to appear incapable of investing their gods with other than physical attributes. Their conceptions of divinity were limited to deeds of strength, lust, and revenge. In this they differed not materially from the popular opinions of the polished Greeks and Romans. Indeed, a uniformity of ideas is found to exist among all nations unenlightened by revelation. Man deified man. His fertile imagination peopled groves, shores, and ocean, with beings of wonderful natures; with some, the objects of fear—with others, of companionship and protection. Each man, according to his prominent characteristic, selected his protecting deity; and their qualities were as various as the tastes and dispositions of mankind. Thus man, in reality, fashioned gods after his own image. In the Hawaiian mythology, little exists to interest or instruct. It is a record of depravity

necessary to examine, that a proper judgment of their aboriginal condition may be formed.

The several islands had favourite idols. On Maui, *Kealoewa* was much worshipped. It was an image of wood, covered with "tapa." The head, which was disfigured with an enormous mouth, was formed of a kind of fine basket-work, curiously and neatly wrought with red feathers, so as to resemble the plumage of a beautiful bird. This was surmounted by a helmet, to the crown of which long tresses of human hair were attached.

Kihu was a famous female idol of Maui, and received equal adoration with Kealoewa. On Lanai, two large stone images personifying the deities supposed to preside over the sea, were much honoured by fishermen. *Moaalii*, a shark, was a celebrated marine god of Molokai.

Numerous temples were built, on projecting head-lands, for his homage, and to them the first-fruits of the fisherman's labours were dedicated. *Kalaipahoa*, a carved wooden image, was much feared. Its arms were extended, with spread fingers, its head decorated with human hair, and its gaping mouth ornamented with rows of sharks' teeth. The wood, of which this idol was made, to increase the horrid effect of its appearance, was fabled to be deadly poisonous.

One of the most popular gods of Hawaii, was *Lono;* an ancient king, who, becoming offended with his wife, murdered her. His contrition caused derangement, and he travelled through the islands, boxing and wrestling with all he met. Not long after, he sailed in an oddly constructed canoe for a foreign land, from which he never returned. He was deified, and annual athletic exercises held in his honour.*

* The following is a translation of the *mele* composed on this event.

O LONO AKUA.

1. Lono Akua, (God) of Hawaii, in ancient times, resided with his wife at Kealakeakua.

2. The name of the goddess, his love, was Kaikilani Alii. They dwelt beneath the steep rock.

3. A man ascended the summit, and from the height thus addressed the spouse of Lono.

This was the god for which Cook was mistaken upon his arrival; which delusion was not altogether removed even after his death.

The most fearful of all their deities was *Pele*, a goddess. Her habitation, the famous volcano of Kilauea, well accorded with her reputed character. Here, with her attendant spirits, she revelled in the flames; the unearthly noises of the burning mass were the music of their dance, and they bathed in the red surge of the fiery billows, as it dashed against the sides of the crater. This fire-loving family is said to have emigrated from Tahiti, soon after the deluge. Their names, as given by Ellis, were characteristic of their habits, and show how readily the native intellect metamorphosed natural phenomena into personal qualities.

Pele was the chief goddess. Her principal followers were *Ka-mo-ho-alii*—the king of steam and vapour. *Ka-poha-ikahi-ola*—the explosion in the palace of life. *Ke-ua-ke-po*—the rain of night. *Kane-kekili*—thundering god. *Ke-oahi-kama-kaua*—fire-thrusting child of war. These were brothers; like Vulcan, two of them were deformed. *Makole-*

4. "O Kaikilani, your lover salutes you: keep this—remove that; one will still remain."

5. Lono, overhearing this artful speech, killed his wife with a hasty stroke.

6. Sorry for this rash act, he carried to a heiau the lifeless body of his wife, and made great wail over it.

7. He travelled through Hawaii, in a state of frenzy, boxing with every one he met.

8. The people, astonished, said, "Is Lono entirely mad?" He replied, "I am frantic with my great love."

9. Having instituted games* to commemorate her death, he embarked in a triangular canoe, for a foreign land.

10. Ere he departed, he prophesied, "I will return in after times, on an island bearing cocoa-nut trees, swine, and dogs.

[*Voyage of the Blonde, p. 30, where this version is ascribed to the Am. Miss.*]

The sacred relic from which the representation of Lono was taken is preserved with the other idols, of which engravings have been given in the Museum of the American Board for Foreign Missions, at their house in Pemberton Square, Boston. Lono is a slim figure, of about twelve feet in height. The male idol is a colossal image—the others are small.

* Those known as the Makahiki.

wawa-hi-waa—fiery-eyed canoe-breaker. *Hiaka-wawahi-lani*—heaven-dwelling cloud-holder; and several others of longer names and similar definitions. These latter were sisters: all were regarded with great awe. The volcano was their principal residence, though occasionally they recruited their spirits amid the snows of the mountains. On such occasions, their journeys were accompanied by earthquakes, eruptions, heavy thunder, and lightning. All these were malignant spirits, and delighted in acts of vengeance and destruction. The numerous eruptions with which the island has been devastated, were ascribed to their enmity. Many tributes were assessed to avoid or appease their anger; the greater part of which went to support the numerous and wealthy priesthood, and their followers, who regulated the worship of *Pele*. They were held in the highest reverence, as holding in their power the devouring fires of the all-powerful goddess. To insult them, break their tabus, or neglect to send offerings, was to call down certain destruction. *Pele* would spout out her lava, and rush down upon the delinquent parties, destroying their persons and property. Vast numbers of hogs, both cooked and alive, were thrown into the crater, when any fear of an eruption was entertained, or to stay the progress of one commenced. Offerings were annually made to keep her in good humour, and no traveller dared venture near her precincts, without seeking her good will.

Wonderful monsters and giants abound in their traditions—showing how prevalent was the love of the marvellous. Events and people, not remarkable in themselves, in the course of time, have been converted into miracles and heroes; in the nature of which the ridiculous, rather than the sublime, predominates.

Pele and her family are said to have had a contest, in which they were almost overpowered, with *Kamapuaa*, half hog and half man; a gigantic animal, the Centaur of Hawaii. He travelled from Oahu to countries beyond the heavens, or

where they supposed the sky to join the sea. In his route he visited Kilauea, and desired to pay his addresses to Pele. She rejected him with contempt, rather impolitely calling him "a hog, and the son of a hog." In endeavouring to drive him away, a fierce battle took place. Pele was driven to her house, and the fires nearly extinguished by great quantities of water, which *Kamapuaa* poured into the crater; the thirsty family, however, soon drank it up, and finally obtained the mastery over the demi-hog, forcing him into the sea, amidst a shower of fire and stones. This tale probably originated in an eruption, in which the fires of the volcano came in contact with the ocean. Another account states that he conquered *Pele*, and they were quietly married; in consequence of which no more islands were formed, or extensive eruptions took place.

This same character was guilty of stealing fowls of a king of Oahu, who, to revenge himself, sent and captured him. However, he soon released himself, and killed all the party but one, whom he sent back with the news of the death of his companions. This mightily enraged the monarch, and he summoned all his force for a fresh attack. Success attended this effort, and Kamapuaa, with his followers, were pent up in a narrow gorge, between two mountains, all sides of which, but the entrance, were bounded by stupendous precipices. Seeing no outlet for escape, he reared upon his hind legs, and placed his fore feet upon the summit of one of the perpendicular walls; his defeated army, scrambling over his back, reached the top in safety, while the monster himself, with one bound, readily surmounted the difficulty. At Haula, where this is said to have occurred, the natives still point out the smooth channels in the rock, made by his efforts on this occasion, but which incredulous whites believe to have been watercourses.

Idols were of every variety imaginable, from the most hideous and deformed sculpture of wood, to the utmost perfection of their art. The features of their religion were

embodied in their images, the most desired object in their manufacture being to inspire fear and horror,—sentiments which, in a more refined people, would from such exhibitions have been converted into disgust. Much ceremony took place when a new idol was to be made. A great procession, headed by the highest priests and chiefs, marched in state to the tree selected for the purpose. After it was felled, a man or hog was sacrificed on its site. The rocks of a beach at Ninole, Hawaii, were in high repute among the manufacturers of stone images and adzes. They were believed to have been of different sexes, and therefore to have had the power of propagation, and were generally used in the fabrication of gods which presided over games. When a suitable stone for this design was found, it was taken to the "heiau," and certain rites performed, after which it was properly fashioned, and then carried to the arena where the games were held. If the party to which it belonged were frequently successful, it was regarded as a god; but if not, it was thrown aside. When victims were required in honour of Maa-alii, the divine shark, or it was supposed to be hungry, the priests sallied out and ensnared with a rope any one whom they could catch, who was immediately strangled, cut in pieces, and thrown to the rapacious fish. Another ingenious mode of entrapping the unwary, was by uttering piteous cries, like a wounded or sick individual, and those attracted to the spot were seized and sacrificed. Temples, or *heiaus*, were commonly erected upon hills, or near the sea, and formed conspicuous objects in the landscapes. They were works of great labour, built of loose stones, with sufficient skill to form compact walls. Their usual form was an irregular parallelogram. That of Kawaihae, on Hawaii, was two hundred and twenty-four feet long, and one hundred feet wide, with walls twelve feet thick at the base; from eight to twenty feet high, and from two to six feet wide at the top, which, being well paved with smooth stones, formed, when in repair, a pleasant walk. The entrance was narrow, between two high walls. The interior divided

into terraces, the upper one paved with flat stones. The south end constituted an inner court, and was the most sacred place, where was placed the chief's idol, surrounded by a multitude of inferior deities. A small frame of wicker-work, hollow and in the shape of an obelisk, stood in the centre of this inner court; in this, the priest stationed himself when in consultation with the god. All affairs of importance were brought before him; and he, pretending divine inspiration, like the sibyls of classic mythology, answered distinctly, though ambiguously. The king and chiefs who received them went outside, and caused them to be proclaimed to the people. The sacrificial altar was near the entrance to this court. Only the high chiefs and priests were allowed to reside within the precincts of the temple. The external walls were crowned with hideous idols, of all shapes and sizes. This temple was built by Kamehameha I., previous to his conquest of the leeward islands, and dedicated to his favourite war-god *Kaili*, a large wooden image, richly ornamented with red feathers. On the day it was completed, eleven men were immolated on its altar; and great quantities of fruit, hogs, and dogs, presented. The other heiaus, the ruins of which still remain, resembled this, but were not all constructed on a scale of equal grandeur.

Enclosures sacred to Lono, were built of the *ki* leaf; four distinct houses were erected for the accommodation of the idols. Fronting these was a handsomely made, high, wooden fence, called the *Anuu*, surmounted by numerous images. The Lama was the only timber allowed in this enclosure, except the Ohia, of which the idols were made. No priests except those attached to Lono could officiate in this enclosure. This was a universal rule; each temple being sacred to some special deity, for whose service distinct orders of priests were maintained. These orders were subdivided into classes, each attending to some specified duty. The king alone had free access to all.

Upon the consecration of a temple, or an appointed period

for worship, the day was made sacred, and the most profound silence enforced. All animals that were not removed, were ordered to be confined, and kept quiet; otherwise they were seized, and offered up in sacrifice. Chiefs and priests, entering the most sacred house, united in prayer for many successive hours, with their arms extended toward heaven. On important occasions, several days were spent in this manner, and were succeeded by rites of a different character. The priests went through various manœuvres, singing songs, and chanting praises to their deity. Distinct sacrifices were offered for the gods, priests and people. These were laid upon altars and lofty scaffolds. Women were not permitted to be present at these seasons; and the restrictions were extremely severe. The two sexes were forbidden all intercourse: if they but spoke to each other, or accidentally came in contact, the penalty was death. Any infringement of the laws, however trivial, brought the same punishment. On the eighth day of the dedication, the last hog reserved for this occasion, called the *puaa-hae*, or "hog to be entirely consumed," was sacrificed. Should any one refuse to partake of its flesh, he lost his life; for it was supposed, if any portion of his body should remain undevoured, the whole company would perish by some awful judgment.

Festivals of a more pleasing description were frequently held, accompanied by sports, trials of skill, dancing, and other amusements.

Human sacrifices were common; they occurred, previous to going to war, upon the death of any high chief, or any other occasion of importance. It is said that Umi, a celebrated king of Hawaii, upon being victorious in battle, commenced sacrificing human victims to his god. After a number had been slain, the insatiate god called for more, which were granted, until none were left, except Umi and the priest. Eighty victims perished: the same number are said to have been sacrificed on other occasions. These stories show the frequency of the practice, and the prodigal waste of human

life attending it. All criminals, and those who had broken any religious requirements, were slain and offered to the gods. Those who were destined for slaughter, for any great event, were frequently selected for months or years beforehand. They were, probably, such as were obnoxious to the priests or chiefs, whose policy prompted them thus to dispose of them, rather than by undisguised murder.

Unconscious of the fate that awaited them, they pursued their daily avocations in apparent security; the first intimation of their danger being the blow which killed them. Sometimes they were seized and carried to the temple, and there slain, to avoid mangling their limbs. Their bodies were then stripped, and placed on an altar, before the idol, with their faces downward. If hogs were offered at the same time, they were piled at right angles upon the bodies; after which prayers were repeated, and the whole mass left in that position to putrefy. In minor affairs, animals, fruits, or vegetables, only were offered. The former were slain by diviners, who observed the manner of their death, the looks of their entrails, and other signs. The face of the heavens, clouds, and rainbows, were also examined, and, according to their appearance, more or less favourable auguries given. It is probable, however, that the wishes of the chief had the most influence in dictating their answers.

The priesthood formed a numerous and powerful body. Their offices were hereditary. They owned much property in people and lands, which were heavily taxed for their support. Each chief had his family priest, who followed him to battle, carried his war-god, and superintended all the sacred rites of his household. The priests took rank from their gods and chiefs; the worship of the latter usually determining the popularity of the former. The keeper of the national war-god, and the one immediately attached to the person of the most powerful ruler, was the great high priest. The power of the priest, though it partook more of a religious character, was scarcely inferior to that of the chiefs. Their

persons were sacred, from their supposed familiarity with the gods. It sometimes happened, that a chief took the sacred offices upon himself; though, perhaps, from the nature of the intimate connexion existing between the two orders, the absolute power, both in politics and religion, centred in the head of the state. When the supreme sovereignty is resolved into the whims and caprices of one individual, and is constantly changing by death or warfare, no regular system, either in government or religion, can be developed. From all that has transpired of their early history, it would appear, that while chiefs and priests maintained their power, in all its grossness, the rites and ceremonies, and even the deities of their faith, were ever varying. The desires of the moment being the law of the land, there is, consequently, but little of permanent interest to be recorded. One fact is everywhere apparent: the spiritual, like the temporal lords of the people, amid all their vagaries, never neglected their own interests. Every ceremony or superstition was framed to aid their already overgrown power; humanity, or a regard for the rights of their inferiors, would have been received as monstrous deviations from the true policy of government. Perhaps they governed no more harshly than could have been expected from a privileged order, nursed in selfishness and brutality. Their very superiority of station and feeling incidentally developed a slight courteousness of manner, when compared with the dark mass beneath them. Among equals, much ceremony prevailed, and an external degree of cold politeness, which served to disguise the most odious features of their characters.

Even over the warrior-chiefs, the priests, at times, were enabled to exercise a powerful influence, and made their religious fears and blind devotion subservient to their selfish purposes. In sickness, or fear of sorcery, their aid was to be purchased only by gifts, in proportion to the rank of the applicant. Great prices were extorted for incantations to be practised upon enemies, or counter ceremonies, to avoid such

phantoms as their imaginations had not only given birth to, but pretended to the exclusive power to allay.

Offerings to the gods, or more properly, to the priests, were required at definite periods, as at all religious ceremonies, and on all occasions when the people desired their services. The wants of the priesthood regulated the amount; and when the regular taxes failed in supplying their desires, the wishes of the god were called into requisition, and the coveted articles tabued for his use. Orisons, chants, and offerings, were made by the priests at their meals. Even in the care of their fowls and quadrupeds, they enjoyed remarkable privileges. When hogs were received alive, they were dedicated to the god of the order, received his marks, and were turned loose, to fatten upon the plantations of the poor cultivators; no one daring openly to injure or drive away the sacred animals.

The expression, tabu, or, according to Hawaiian orthography, Kapu, which, from its usefulness, has now become incorporated into most modern tongues, requires some explanation. Originally, it meant sacred. It does not imply any moral quality, but is indicative of a particular distinction, or separation from common purposes, for some special design. It also expresses an unlimited restriction. Formerly, it was applied exclusively to persons or things in a sacred sense, and was strictly a religious ceremony, imposed only by the priests; but has since come into common use in all the every-day concerns of life. Anciently, those chiefs who pretended to derive their descent from the gods, were called *alii kapu*, sacred chiefs. A temple, exclusively devoted to the abode and worship of gods, was said to be *wahi kapu*—sacred place. Anything dedicated or reserved for the exclusive use of gods, chiefs, or priests, was considered as *kapu* for them. Certain lands and islands were *kapu*, as well as hunting-grounds, fish, fruit, or whatever the sacred classes chose to reserve for themselves. These *kapus* were occasional, or permanent—particular fruits, fish, and vegetables, being sometimes tabu

both from men and women, for several successive months. The idols, temples, persons, and names of their kings, and members of the royal family; persons and property of the priests; every thing appertaining to the gods; religious devotees; the chiefs' bathing-places, or favourite springs of water; and every thing offered in sacrifice, were strictly *kapu*. In modern times, this magic term has become the property of all. A common man can tabu his house, lands, or make any partial restrictions, and all would respect the prohibition. Any forbidden article, or action, is called tabued; hence, its common use in the domestic circle, and its application to laws. A captain can tabu his ship, and none dare approach. Tabued property is generally marked by small white flags, or other signs which are well understood. At the present time, any individual can impose such tabu as suits his necessities or convenience, provided they do not infringe personal rights or the laws of the kingdom.

Formerly a religious motive was necessary for its assignment; but as the power of the chiefs increased, its use was greatly corrupted, while its influence remained the same, and may be said to have partaken of the preternatural. The bans of the Romish church, in the proudest days of that hierarchy, were not more powerful or obligatory. Every will of a chief, however monstrous, was promulgated as a tabu, and officers were appointed to see that it was observed.

This institution, unknown elsewhere, was general, with slight variations, throughout the Polynesian groups. Its antiquity was coeval with the superstitions which it so materially strengthened, and it may be regarded as one of the greatest productions of heathen ingenuity. A more powerful system of religious despotism, at once capable of great utility and equal abuse, could not have been devised. Its application was adapted to all wants and circumstances, and no civil or ecclesiastical government ever possessed a more refined, yet effective weapon. Its influence among the common people was universal and inflexible. Its exactments

were of the most humiliating and troublesome description; and if anything had been wanting to complete their bondage, this, like the key-stone to an arch, was made to perfect and perpetuate their degradation. Emanating as did the religion and government from the higher classes, it fitted them loosely and easily, and could be set aside or put in motion at their option.

The penalties partook both of a temporal and supernatural character,—the victims, like those of the Inquisition, being equally delivered to the terrors of the secular arm, and the judgments of offended gods. Unless powerful friends interfered, the slightest breach of any of its requisitions, however absurd or artificial, was punished with death. Some were burnt, others strangled, or despatched with clubs or stones within the temples, or sacrificed in a more lingering and dreadful manner. Eyes were scooped out, limbs broken, and the most exquisite tortures inflicted for several days, before the final stroke was given.

Particular seasons were tabu; as on the sickness of a high chief, preparations for war, or the approach of important religious ceremonies. Their duration was indefinite, sometimes for a day only, then for months, and occasionally for years. Thirty to forty days was the ordinary period before Kamehameha's reign, when they were much reduced.

These tabus were either common or strict, and were proclaimed by criers or heralds. Men only were required to abstain from their common pursuits, and to attend prayers morning and evening at the heiau, during the former. But when the season of strict tabu was in force, a general gloom and silence pervaded the whole district or island. Not a fire or light was to be seen, or canoe launched; none bathed; the mouths of dogs were tied up, and fowls put under calabashes, or their heads enveloped in cloth; for no noise of man or animal must be heard. No persons, excepting those who officiated at the temple, were allowed to leave the shelter of their roofs. Were but one of these rules broken, the tabu would fail, and the gods be displeased.

When the sacred chiefs appeared in public, all the common people prostrated themselves, with their faces upon the earth. The food of chiefs and priests, they being interdicted from handling any thing during this tabu, was put into their mouths by their attendants.

The only feature in the religious system, which can be regarded with a degree of satisfaction, and that only partially, was the Pahonua, or city of refuge, which stands amid rapidly increasing darkness, like the last faint ray of a setting sun. There were two on Hawaii; one at Waipio, the other at Honaunau. To those who fled from an enemy, the manslayer, those who had transgressed tabu, the thief, and even to the vilest criminal, their precincts, once gained, afforded an inviolable sanctuary. They were free to all of every tribe, or condition, though the flying party could be pursued to their very gates. They were perpetually open. The rescued party repaired immediately to the idol, and offered a thanksgiving for his escape.

They also afforded safe retreats during war. All the noncombatants of the neighbouring districts, men, women, and children, flocked into them, and there awaited the issue of the struggle. To them the vanquished fled. If they could reach a spot, a short distance outside the walls, where, during war, a white banner was displayed, they were safe. Should a victorious warrior venture further, he would be put to death by the attendant priests and their adherents. Those once within the pale of the sanctuary, were under the protection of the spirit of Keave, the tutelar deity of the enclosure.

Houses were erected for the accommodation of all within their walls. After a short period, they were permitted to return unmolested to their homes, the divine protection being supposed still to abide with them.

These places of refuge were very capacious, and built after the manner of their temples. The one at Honaunau, as measured by Ellis, was seven hundred and fifteen feet in length, and four hundred and four feet wide. Its walls were

twelve feet high, and fifteen thick, and formerly surmounted with images, which stood four rods apart, on their whole extent. Within, three large heiaus were erected, one of which presented a solid pyramid of stone, one hundred and twenty-six feet by sixty, and ten feet high. In several parts of the wall were large masses of rock, weighing two or more tons, each raised six feet above the ground. This Pahonua was built for Keave, who reigned in Hawaii two hundred and seventy years ago; and, destitute as the islanders were of any machinery, must have been an herculean task, requiring the labour of a vast number of people.

The sanctuaries are somewhat analogous to the Israelitish cities of refuge, and originated, doubtless, from the barbarous and sanguinary customs, common to both nations, which required a safeguard from the effects of evil passions, constantly kept in excitement by the universal prevalence of the law of retaliation and the bloody character of their warfare.

While considerable difference in government, and certain customs, originating from local circumstances, prevailed throughout Polynesia, a general uniformity in religion existed. The earliest traditions are strikingly similar, and the rites and priesthood of the same sanguinary character. A more refined barbarism prevailed among the Society and Samoa islanders, the former of which have aptly been called the French of the Pacific. Still, when a general comparison is drawn, not a doubt of their common origin can be entertained. The structure of their languages, their physical characteristics, analogous religious systems, and a general conformity in all the arts and customs of life, clearly demonstrate the fact. While the Hawaiian, in certain points, appears to more advantage than his southern brethren, in religion and government he appears behind them. In New Zealand, the Marquesas, Samoan, and Tonga groups, a kind of republican freedom prevailed, which here finds no counterpart. The power of the chiefs was more restricted, varying much in the different groups. The religion of the Tahitian,

Samoan, and Tongan, constituted a better defined system, and was founded on certain well-established traditions and maxims handed down from their forefathers. Its effects, though disastrous in the extreme, were less conspicuously degrading. A refinement of heathenism was diffused, which served to gild the darker shades of its character, and it was not until the veil was completely stripped from the vile image, that all its deformities appeared. Many of the early voyagers formed, from superficial views, favourable opinions of the savage character, which served for awhile to deceive he world with false ideas of the innocency of man in his primeval condition. A knowledge of his dreadful worship, and its direful effects, soon served to dissipate this belief; none but those who have interested views to maintain, now give it credence. A valuable lesson is to be learned from the history of the savage tribes, so rapidly wasting away, or merging into civilized nations, inasmuch as it serves to illustrate the history of unenlightened and unevangelized man—man, left in isolated communities to grope his way, unaided by the light of revelation. Could a result more painful to human dignity present itself? As before the flood, "the wickedness of man became great in the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually."

CHAPTER III.

Warlike weapons—Armour—Feather Cloaks and Helmets—War—Preparations—Militia—Camps—Mode of Fighting—Victors and Vanquished—Truces—Peace—Festivals—Orators and Bards—Songs—Wailing—Games—Dances—Mourning Ceremonies—Arts and Agriculture—Houses—Ceremonies before occupying—Clothing—Food—Fisheries—Commerce between different Islands—Stated Fairs—Method of Computation—Knowledge and Practice of Medicine—Origin and Cure of Diseases—Modes of Burial—Division of Time—Hawaiian Dialect.

THE warlike weapons of the Hawaiians were few and simple. They consisted chiefly of spears, javelins, daggers, and clubs, made from a tough wood, susceptible of high polish. These were their most effective weapons. They had no shields; javelins being used on the defensive as well as offensive; in the former of which they were more expert than in the latter. Their lances were perfectly straight, flattened to a point at one end, and from twelve to twenty feet in length. The javelins were similarly constructed, barbed, and about six feet in length. The *laau palau*, a species of club or halbert, was several feet longer. It was employed either in thrusting or striking. The *paloa*, or dagger, was from sixteen inches to two feet in length, frequently pointed at both ends, with a string attached to the handle, by which it was made fast to the wrist. Bows and arrows were rarely used, being so poorly fabricated as to be of little utility. Slings, manufactured from human hair, or the elastic fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, were a destructive weapon. The ammunition used was small smooth stones, which were cast with great force and precision. Small swords, or saws, the edges of which were set with sharks' teeth, were common.

Defensive armour was seldom employed. Besides the

malo, the cloth girded about the loins, a turban was occasionally worn. The helmets and war-cloaks, although they gave their wearers an imposing and martial appearance, must have proved an incumbrance. The former were too slightly constructed to afford any security against a well-directed blow; being made of wicker-work, and closely fitted to the crown. Those worn by the high chiefs were exceedingly beautiful. They were surmounted by a lofty crest sometimes ornamented with the tail-plumage of the tropic-bird, and the whole was thickly wrought with glossy red and yellow feathers. In form they resembled the Grecian casque. These, with the cloaks, were admirably adapted to set off to advantage the towering figures of the chiefs. Cloaks or caps made exclusively of yellow feathers, were reserved for the king.

The *mamo*, or feather war-cloak of Kamehameha, occupied nine generations of kings in its fabrication; not being completed until the reign of the father of the present sovereign. Its length is four feet, with eleven and a half feet spread at the bottom. The groundwork is a fine netting. To this the feathers, which are exceedingly small and delicate, being less than an inch in length, are skilfully attached. They overlap each other, and form a perfectly smooth surface. Around the borders the feathers are reversed. The whole is of a beautifully bright yellow hue, giving it the appearance of a golden mantle. Such cloaks were rare. Savage despotism could not produce a richer or more costly garment. The birds from which the feathers were obtained, are found in the mountainous parts of the islands, and caught only with great difficulty. They are ensnared, by means of an adhesive substance smeared upon long poles, well baited, which are thickly scattered about their haunts. Alighting upon these, their feet become attached; the hunter then easily secures them, and plucks from under their wings the two feathers (all each bird produces) which are so much coveted. These feathers are highly valued; a piece of nankeen, of the value of one dollar and a half, being the price given for five, in modern

times. If the labour expended on this cloak could be estimated, its nominal worth would be found equal to that of the most costly gems in the regalia of Europe.

Those of other chiefs were less expensive and beautiful; being alternated with red and yellow rhomboidal figures or lines, relieved with sections of dark purple or glossy black. A smaller kind, manufactured of the same materials, was worn by those whose rank did not entitle them to the larger garment. An ornament, made from a whale's tooth, called a *palaoa*, suspended from the neck by braids of human hair, was much prized by the high chiefs.

In their modes of warfare, they exhibited considerable address. War being the chief occupation, it was reduced to a system, of which the following were the principal features.

In a war of magnitude, a universal conscription was enforced; none but those incapacitated by age or bodily infirmity, were excused from following their sovereign to the field. All were drilled in the use of arms, and practised warlike exercises, such as sham-fights, slinging stones at a mark, throwing the javelin, warding it off, or catching it in their hands, wrestling, &c.

After war was declared, the king, principal warriors, and priests, determined the plan of attack, or the general method for its prosecution. *Lunapai*, war-heralds, were sent through all the districts, summoning such of the chiefs and their tenants as were to bear part in its operations. Women frequently fought in the ranks, or bore refreshments to their party, through the thickest of the fray. All were required to bring their own weapons and provisions, which were generally prepared beforehand, for emergencies of this nature. If any one should refuse to obey the summons, his ears were slit, and he was led into the camp with a rope around his body. So great was the disgrace attached to this punishment, that there was seldom occasion to resort to it.

Upon reaching the rendezvous, each chief reported the

number and condition of his followers to the commander. Each division encamped around the hut of its leader, or occupied a large house by itself. No fortifications were erected, though favourable natural sites for defence were selected for camps, and picquets stationed at the several approaches. The non-combatants were sent to strongholds, or fortresses erected on steep eminences, to which, in case of defeat, the whole army retired, and defended them to the last extremity.

Unlike most savages, they appear to have been deficient in the science of strategy; seldom lying in ambush, but making their assaults openly, and generally in the day-time. Their methods of attack and defence were various, according to the nature of the ground and the force of the enemy, and exhibited much ingenuity. When on an open plain, the army was drawn up in the form of a crescent. A body of spearmen, forming a kind of phalanx, composed the centre, while the slingers, and those armed with javelins, were distributed throughout the line. The commander was either the highest chief, or a warrior of distinguished bravery and address. His position was in the centre, and the other chiefs were stationed about the ranks at his discretion. When an action took place in a narrow defile, the army was formed in a single column; the first division was called *welau*, the extremity or point, and received the brunt of the onset. The strongest division, in the centre of which was the chief, was *pohiwi*, "the shoulder." Other portions were known by similarly expressive names. No banners were used, but idols were borne in the ranks; the priests of which, in the heat of the action, would rush forward, uttering terrific yells, and distorting their features into the most frightful forms, to spread dismay into the opposing force, and stimulate the courage of their own; the yells and grimaces being supposed to proceed from the images.

The whole army seldom engaged at once. The battles were usually a succession of skirmishes, or but partial actions.

Naval engagements, in which several hundred canoes were employed on both sides, were not unusual. Flags called *puwalu*, were then used, and attached to the triangular sails of the canoes. Boastful shouts, yells, cries of defiance, and every noise calculated to intimidate, resounded among the combatants. The bodies of the first slain on either side, received the greatest indignities, and their mangled remains were dedicated to the gods of the victors. Sometimes a single warrior, deridingly carrying only a fan, would advance from the lines, and insult the opposite party with the most opprobrious language, challenging them to begin the attack upon him singly. In reply to this rhodomontade, a dozen or more spears would be cast at him at once; these, by nimbly stooping, twisting, and jumping aside, he would avoid. Occasionally, with a motion of his arm, he would ward them off, or catch them in his hands, and hurl them back upon the foe. Should he be slain, a bloody encounter ensued for the possession of the body.

Their conflicts, which do not appear to have been very fatal, sometimes lasted for several successive days, and were then terminated by mutual consent; both parties, in contradiction of the vain-glorious civilized custom in such cases, acknowledging themselves *luka lua*, beaten. More frequently, one was routed, and fled for safety to the sacred enclosures, or their mountain retreats. Those overtaken were massacred, else brought to the chiefs for their final decision. Some were spared to be slaves; others for future sacrifices. When the chief was mercifully inclined, he spoke to or recognized the prisoners, who were then safe, and could either return to their own tribe, or join the train of their preserver, which, from gratitude, they generally did, and became faithful adherents. The victors erected cairns over the remains of their slain, leaving the bodies of the vanquished to be devoured by wild hogs and dogs. The subdued country was portioned out among the conquering chiefs; the wives and children of the captives being made

slaves, and attached to the soil, to cultivate it for their new masters, who treated them with great harshness.

The branches of the ti plant, or young banana trees, were used as flags of truce. When peace was sought, ambassadors were sent, bearing these symbols; after arranging the preliminaries, the chiefs and priests of both parties met and adjusted the terms. This done, a pig was sacrificed, and its blood poured upon the ground—emblematic of the fate of either party that should afterward infringe its conditions. A sweet-scented wreath was then woven by the leaders of both sides, and deposited, as a peace-offering, in a temple. Feasts, dances, and public games, celebrated this return of good will, and heralds were sent to announce the termination of the war.

The professions of the orators and bards were hereditary and highly illustrious. The former were employed on all great occasions to plead cases, and in all national negotiations. The latter, some of whom were blind, were the repositories of the historical and sacred songs, and composers of new, which they sang in honour of their divine and temporal lords. They were handed down with great care from one generation to another; the sole occupation of the bards being their preservation, for which purpose they commenced repeating them by rote, from an early age, until they were indelibly fixed in their memories. The language used was very figurative, often approaching the sublime; their imagery well depicted and highly beautiful. Bold sentiments and striking comparisons abounded. Their gestures were animated, and the effect of their recitations greatly heightened by a conciseness and euphony of language, or a plaintive sadness, with local allusions, which had a startling influence upon the passions of their untutored hearers.

Songs and chants were common among all classes, and recited by strolling musicians as panegyrics on occasions of joy, grief, or worship. The knowledge of events in the lives of prominent individuals, or the annals of the nation, were thus perpetuated.

The Hawaiian dialect, from its great smoothness, and multiplicity of vowels, is admirably adapted for this kind of poetry. The chief art lay in the formation of short metrical sentences, without much regard to their rhymic termination, though the conclusion of each, or the end of several, were made to harmonize in cadence. So popular is this form of expression, that, even to the present day, the natives repeat their lessons, orders received, or scraps of ancient songs, or extemporize in this monotonous, sing-song tone, for hours together, and in perfect concord. Monosyllables, dissyllables, and trisyllables had each their distinct tune.

Analogous to this was the mournful *au-we*, uttered on occasions of calamity and death. On the decease of a great chief, the wail was commenced at his couch, and borne from one individual to another, until it spread over the island. Night and day was the dismal sound prolonged; its first notes were low, gradually swelling until one full, passionate burst of grief filled the air, and resounded among the neighbouring rocks and hills, whose echoes threw back the cry. During the night its effect, as thus borne from party to party, from one valley to another, now rising into almost a shriek of bitterness, then subsiding into a low, murmuring sound, was startling and impressive. Watch-fires, surrounded by groups of both sexes, wailing and weeping violently, tearing their hair, and giving way to other and more barbarous demonstrations of their sorrow, completed the scene.

The same expressions were also uttered on the most trivial occasions; as an injury, surprise, the death of a favourite animal, or any disappointment. Its signification was, alas! to sigh or to have a deep affection. Mourners were frequently hired; and the same party could be seen one moment buried, apparently in the deepest affliction, and, in another, revelling in boisterous mirth about their food, while their places were supplied by a fresh set.

The following, from Ellis's tour through Hawaii, is a spe-

cimen of their mournful poetry. His orthography has been changed to the modern Hawaiian.

Ue, ue, ua make kuu Alii	Alas, alas! dead is my chief,
Ua make, huu, haku kuu hoa,	Dead is my lord and my friend;
Kuu hoa i ka wa o ka wi	My friend in the season of famine,
Kuu hoa i paa ka aina,	My friend in the time of drought,
Kuu hoa i kuu ilihune,	My friend in poverty,
Kuu hoa i ka au e ka makani,	My friend in the rain and the wind,
Kuu hoa, i ka wela a ka la,	My friend in the heat and the sun,
Kuu hoa, i ka anu a ka mouna,	My friend in the cold from the mountain.
Kuu hoa i ka ino	My friend in the storm,
Kuu hoa i ka malie,	My friend in the calm,
Kuu hoa i mau kai awalu	My friend in the eight seas;
Ue, ue, ua hala kuu hoa,	Alas, alas! gone is my friend,
Aole e hoi hou mai.	And no more will return.

Moku-moku, or boxing, was a favourite national game, regulated by certain laws, for the proper execution of which managers were appointed, and umpires to decide upon rival claims. A spirit of clanship inspired the champions, who usually belonged to different chiefs. The victor in one engagement paced the ring in triumph until another antagonist appeared. The final conqueror received the highest honours. These boxing-matches were often attended with fatal results. The spectators delighted in blows that brought blood, and stimulated the combatants with shouts and yells of applause, dancing, and other wild expressions of delight, until, as it frequently happened, many were slain. Foot-races were common; the king's messengers attained great speed, frequently making the circuit of Hawaii, three hundred miles of bad road, in eight or nine days: their pace was a dog-trot.

Sliding down steep hills on a smooth board was a common amusement. No sport was a greater source of delight than bathing in the surf. Young and old, high and low, of both sexes, engaged in it, and in no other way could they show greater dexterity in their aquatic exercises. Multitudes could be seen when the surf was highest, pushing boldly sea-

ward, with their surf-board in advance, diving beneath the huge combers, as they broke in succession over them, until they reached the outer line of breakers. Then, lying flat upon their boards, using their arms and legs as guides, they boldly mounted the loftiest, and, borne upon its crest, rushed with the speed of a race-horse towards the shore; the being dashed upon which, seemed to a spectator impossible to be avoided. But a dexterous movement turned their course again seaward, or they nimbly slipped off their boards, which the force of the waves threw far up the rocks.

The *pahe* was a game in great vogue. It consisted in throwing, or rather glancing, heavy darts, from two to five feet in length, along a level floor, prepared with great care for this purpose. The skill consisted in the nearness to certain marks at which the darts were cast. Analogous to this was the *ulu-maika*, a species of bowling, in which a circular stone, highly polished, with flat sides, was used. The *konane* was an intricate game of drafts, played with coloured stones, upon a great number of squares. The *puhenehene* consisted in secreting a stone so adroitly, in the full gaze of all present, as to deceive the watchers in their guess as to the hiding-place; five loose bundles of cloth were prepared for this design, under one of which the stone was slipped.

Hakoohu, wrestling; *loulou*, a trial of strength by hooking the fingers; *honuhonu*, swimming with the hands only, the feet being fast interlocked; *uma*, a trial of the strength of the arms; *lelekawa*, leaping from precipices into water; *lelekaoli*, rope-swinging; *kulakulai*, wrestling in the sea, were sports in high repute. The *ume*, *kilu*, and *papuhene*, were of an impure nature, and engaged in only under veil of night.

The generality of games were seldom practised except for the purpose of gambling, to which they were inordinately addicted. In betting, every article of clothing or property was staked, and their interest only stayed by the exhaustion of their means, when violent passions were usually aroused, and fierce brawls ensued.

Dances, *hula*, were of various character, sometimes interspersed with chants relating to the achievements of the past or present rulers, or in honour of the gods. Such was the *hula alaapupa*. The dancers were decorated with necklaces of human hair, supporting ornaments of bone, or whales' teeth. Bracelets and buskins of net-work, thickly set with the teeth of dogs or hogs, encircled their wrists and ankles. Their motions were sometimes active, sometimes slow and graceful, and in perfect time with the music of rude drums, made from large calabashes, with apertures at the top, or hollow logs tastefully carved and covered at the ends with sharks' skin. The former were alternately beaten with the palms of the hands, and struck on the ground, on which cloth was laid. The gesticulations of the musicians were violent, and they also joined in the chants.

Dancing was as universal as swimming; all, of every age and character, engaging in it, though it was more commonly practised in honour of the gods, or for the amusement of the chiefs, by professional dancers. The dances of the latter consisted in a variety of uncouth motions and twistings of the body, of too lascivious a nature to bear description, and were generally preparatory to brutal revels. Their costumes were in conformity with their actions; garlands of flowers, necklaces of shells, and *leis*, beautiful wreaths, fabricated from red or yellow feathers, encircled the limbs of the females. Both sexes were tataued, though not to such an extent as prevailed elsewhere. The dances of the youth were peculiarly graceful and pleasing.

The ceremonies observed on the death of any prominent personage were extremely barbarous. The hair was shaved, or cut close, teeth knocked out, and ears sometimes mangled. Some tataued their tongues in a corresponding manner to the other parts of their bodies. These customs were intended to keep alive the memory of the deceased among his immediate relatives and retainers; by many, the affection was estimated by the amount of bodily pain endured. Frequently the flesh

was cut or burnt, eyes scooped out, and other even more painful personal outrages inflicted. But these usages, however shocking they may appear, were innocent, compared with the horrid saturnalia which immediately followed the death of a chief of the highest rank. The most unbounded license prevailed. All law and restraint were cast aside, and the whole people appeared more like demons than human beings. Every vice and crime was allowed. Property was destroyed, houses fired, and old feuds revived and revenged. Gambling, thefts and murder were as open as the day; clothing was cast aside as a useless incumbrance; drunkenness and promiscuous prostitution prevailed throughout the land; no women, excepting the widows of the deceased, being exempt from the grossest violation. There was no passion, however lewd, or desire, however wicked, but could be gratified with impunity, during the continuance of this period, which, happily from its own violence, soon spent itself. No other nation was ever witness to a custom which so entirely threw off all moral and legal restraints, and incited the evil passions of man to unresisted riot and wanton debauchery.

In the mechanical arts, and agriculture, the Hawaiians manifested considerable ingenuity, and appear to have developed the resources of their islands as fully as the imperfect condition of their tools permitted. With no better instruments than those of hard stone, shell, or bone, they made large and fine canoes, the longest of which were sixty feet in length; built neat houses; ingeniously carved wood and stone, and manufactured all that was necessary for domestic purposes. The mats made from rushes, or from the leaves of the pandanus, were very useful, and some of great size, fineness and beauty, and neatly dyed. These mats were used for beds, screens, partitions, and sometimes for clothing. In their cloth, manufactured from the *morus papyrifera*, much skill was displayed. It was of every quality, from a thick, heavy article, which was almost impervious to wind or water, to a more delicate and almost transparent fabric. The colours

were various, some being so prettily stained as to resemble printed cloths. Bowls and dishes, made from the ko tree, were very beautiful and highly valued. But the most useful article, and one which can be applied to an almost endless variety of purposes, is the fruit of the cucurbita, the calabash or gourd. From it, their drinking vessels, dishes, masks and musical instruments are made. It supplies the want of iron, glass, crockery and wooden ware. In journeys it answers for a trunk, and at home for a closet. They are often prettily ornamented after the same patterns as their tapas, and are of every size, from the smallest water-cup, to the great poi-dish, capable of holding ten gallons.

The houses of the common orders were mere hovels, made of straw, thatched upon a light wooden frame. They were low, small and damp, and generally filthy within and without. Those of the chiefs were much superior, and neatly kept.

There were professed trades: some being expert in building canoes, others in carving, and framing or thatching houses, &c. To finish the corners or the roofs of houses, properly and handsomely, was a difficult art, and understood but by few. Generally, every man worked at all as his wants required. When a chief ordered a dwelling to be erected, all of his tenants were required to take part in the labour, though to each party a distinct work was allotted. While some went to the mountains to procure the timber for the frame, others pulled grass for thatch, or made the twine with which the frame was to be held together, and the thatch fastened on. As soon as the materials were gathered, holes were dug for the posts, the timbers of the roof grooved, and the whole frame set up. The thatchers then performed their part; and in this manner a large house could be commenced and finished within three days. The timber, which was often of great size, was brought from far in the interior. All burdens were carried by being slung on poles, supported on the shoulders of men; the friction from which frequently caused large, callous swellings, greatly disfiguring the form.

The best-built houses lasted from ten to twelve years; the common, not more than half that time. For such a climate, they were well adapted to the wants of the population, though, having no floors, obnoxious to damp and cold. Those of the chiefs were enclosed in large yards, and were sometimes raised on a stone embankment, which rendered them much more comfortable. Around the principal house or hall, as it had but one room, were the smaller huts, which served for eating and sleeping apartments and storehouses. The whole resembled a collection of hay-ricks.

Before a new house was occupied, a number of superstitious ceremonies were performed, to exorcise such evil spirits as desired to dispute the possession with the rightful owner. Offerings were made to the gods, and presents to the priests, who, uttering prayers and performing divers rites, for a while resided in the house; the sanctity derived from their occupancy being considered as sufficient, ever after, to baffle all attempts of malignant beings, or the incantations of sorcerers.

Clothing was of the simplest nature. With the men, it consisted of a small strip of cloth, called the *malo*, wound around the loins, and passed between the legs; that of the women, was the *pau*, a garment attached to the waist, and reaching to the knee. Young children, of both sexes, went naked; as also did their parents, whenever inclination prompted.

Poi, the principal article of diet, was prepared from the kalo plant. The roots, after being baked under ground, were mashed on a large platter, by a heavy stone pestle, or an instrument in shape resembling a stirrup, and were mixed with water, until a thick paste was formed. This is sometimes eaten in a sweet state, but generally put aside until it ferments; in which condition it is preferred. It is a highly-nutritious substance, though, when solely used, has a tendency to produce acrid humours. The labour of its preparation is confined to the men, being too severe for females.

In fishing they were very expert; catching their prey

either by hooks made from pearl-shells, or in nets, some of which were of great size and fine workmanship. A vegetable poison was also used ; the herb containing it being stripped of its bark, and bruised. This was placed beneath stones where the fishes frequented, which soon became affected, sickened, and rose to the surface. As soon as they were taken, they were cleaned, to prevent the poison from spreading. Fish were usually eaten raw, and in the state they were captured.

The manners and customs of these savages are too well known to require enlarged description. If their arts were few and simple, so were their wants. The skill displayed in supplying them, is sufficient to excite admiration, and exhibits mechanical abilities, which since, under better auspices, have greatly improved. A small commerce, through the medium of barter, was maintained between some of the islands. The tapas of Oahu were exchanged for the canoes and paddles of Kauai. In Hawaii, a heavy, strong tapa, called *mamake*, suitable for cold weather, was manufactured and supplied to the other islands.

At stated periods, markets or fairs were held in various places. The most celebrated occurred on the banks of the Wailuku river, in the district of Hilo, Hawaii. Here, inhabitants from all portions of the island assembled, to make exchanges of property. Certain districts were noted for the goodness of their tapas ; others for their mats, live stock, or excellence of their *poi*, or dried fish. The pedlars cried their wares, which were exhibited in piles on either side of the stream, according to certain rules ; and when a bargain was in negotiation, the articles were deposited on a particular rock, where they could be mutually examined in the presence of inspectors, who were appointed as arbiters in cases of dispute, and also acted as a police for the preservation of order. They received a remuneration for their services. A toll was required from all who crossed the river.

The Hawaiian method of computation resembled the ancient

Atzec. It was simple and regular, and sufficient for the wants of an unlettered race, which seldom had occasion to express any complex combination of numbers. From one to ten was as follows: *akahi, alua, akolu, aha, alima, aono, ahitu, awalu;* eleven, was ten and one, *umi, kumamakahi, kumama* being the conjunctive; twelve, *umikumamalua,* and so on until twenty, which was expressed by a new term, *iwiakalua;* twenty-one, *iwakalua-kumamakahi,* &c. Thirty was *kanakolu;* thirty-one, *kanakolukumamakahi,* &c.; forty, *kanaha;* they then commenced with one, and counted to forty again. A combination of terms were sufficient to express all numbers short of four hundred, for which a new word was required. Fifty was *kanaha me ka umi,* forty and ten; sixty, *akahi kanaha me ka, iwiakalua,* one, forty, and twenty, and so on; eighty, was *elua kanaha,* two forties; one hundred was *elua kanaha me ka iwakalua,* two forties and twenty; six hundred, *hookahi lau a me na kanaha elima,* one four hundred, and five forties; ten thousand *alua mano me na lau elima,* two 4000's, and five 400's.*

In this system four is assumed as the lowest collection of numbers, and the basis of classification; the regular scale being graduated from four to four hundred thousand; each step multiplied by ten. Thus:—

Aha kahi	four units	made	1 *kauna,*	4
Umi kauna	ten 4's	"	1 *kanaha,*	40
Umi kanaha	ten 40's	"	1 *lau,*	400
Umi lau,	ten 400's	"	1 *mano,*	4000
Umi mano,	ten 4000's	"	1 *kini;*	40,000
Umi kini,	ten 40,000's	"	1 *lehu,*	400,000

Beyond this last number, their ideas became confused; though the term *nalowale,* which means out of sight, or lost, was sometimes employed, as expressing ten lehu, or four hundred thousand. Numbers beyond their power of reckoning, or exceedingly great and indefinite, were expressed by the repetition of the words, *kini* and *lehu,* as *kini kini, lehu-lehu.* To reduce English computation to the Hawaiian, it is

* Hawaiian Spectator, vol. ii p 91.

only necessary to divide by four, and *vicè versâ*, to multiply by the same number. This ancient method is now rapidly giving way to the decimal system, introduced by the missionaries in their schools. The larger numbers are formed from the English terms: thus, one hundred, accommodated to the Hawaiian idiom, is *haneli*; thousand, *tausani*; million, *miliona*, &c.

The knowledge and use of medicinal herbs was said to have been a gift from the gods to a man named Koleamoku, who taught them to two disciples. After their death they were all deified; and to them the prayers of the doctors were addressed. The doctors were a distinct class of priests or sorcerers, who generally confined the knowledge of their art to their own families, and thus made the employment, which was lucrative, hereditary. They were called *kahuna lapaau mai*, "man or priest to heal sickness;" their practice was a compound of superstitious ceremonies, and an injudicious use of medicines and surgery. Their materia medica consisted exclusively of vegetable substances, variously prepared; sometimes by being cooked, but often simply bruised with a stone. Their knowledge of the medicinal properties of herbs was considerable, though fatal results often followed their applications. They feigned a knowledge of internal disorders by external examination, and also the power to ward off sickness. Healthy individuals frequently fell victims to their pretended skill, being induced to take large quantities of a liquid compounded from the pulp and stems of the calabash vine, which operates as a powerful cathartic. Patients were steamed over ovens of hot stones, or held over the smoke of fires prepared from green succulent herbs. Friction was greatly used to mitigate minor pains; stones of twelve pounds weight, and upwards, were rolled over the afflicted parts, or violent manual exercise employed. In setting limbs they were sometimes successful, though more from accident than skill; but in all complicated fractures, or dangerous illnesses, their services were worse than useless.

An individual who hired one of this class was supposed to have it in his power to afflict his enemies with painful diseases, and even cause their deaths: also, to be enabled to discover the author of his own maladies, and retort them upon the aggressor. It might be reasonably conjectured that powers believed to be capable of so varied and counteracting influences, would, from the natural fear of all parties, be little employed. The more destructive engines of war become, the less is believed the danger of hostilities. But savage passions seldom calculate results: revenge is dearer than all else. Hence these people found plentiful employment, notwithstanding the largesses required. Their influence was most powerful over the lower orders; probably fear of open revenge prevented them from testing their skill on powerful chiefs, who were, beside, their most valuable patrons. All deaths, not the result of accident, were attributed either to their agency, poison, or to the anger of some unpropitious deity.

The ceremonies practised were various: the most common was similar to that for the discovery of thieves. It was called *Kuniahi*, "broiling fire," and was used to discover the authors of injurious incantations, and sickness. None but the parties concerned were allowed to enter the house selected on the occasion. Near the invalid a fire was kindled, and covered with stones. A dog, hog, or fowl, was killed, embowelled, and placed upon the heated oven. During this operation, the priests muttered prayers. A small portion of the broiled meat was eaten by him, and the remainder left to be consumed. He then feigned sleep, and in visions to receive answers to his orisons; by which he informed his patient who or what occasioned his illness. Additional prayers and offerings were then required, that the disease might fasten itself upon its author, or to remove the anger of the god who sent it. If the priest said he had not been successful, and had received no revelation, he recommended another trial, which advice was commonly followed, though not always to his satisfaction, a

rival being frequently sent for to exert his influence. Each had different forms, upon the degree of popularity of which their fame depended; and, like civilised quacks, they were anxious to extend the reputation of their remedies, at the expense of their less bold or skilful brethren. As might be expected, they inculcated the belief that the success of their experiments depended greatly upon the amount of offerings.

The manner of burial differed according to the rank of the deceased. The bodies of the common people were bent with the face upon the knees, arms beneath them, and the hands passed up between the legs; the heads, hands, and knees were closely bound together with cord, and the corpses enveloped in coarse mats, and buried within two days of decease. Those of the priests and inferior chiefs were laid out straight, and wrapped in folds of cloth. The former were generally interred within their temples, their graves being marked by piles of stones, or rough wooden enclosures. The legs, arms, bones, and sometimes the skulls, of the high chiefs whose ancestors had received the honours of deification, or who were themselves to be enrolled in the calendar of gods, were reserved, and the remainder of their bodies buried or burnt. The relics were carefully covered with crimson cloth, and either deposited in temples, for adoration, or remained in possession of the nearest relations, by whom they were held sacred; the spirits of the departed, being supposed to remain with them, exercising a controlling and protecting influence over the living.

Caverns were generally selected as places of sepulture, and the remains of many successive generations deposited in the same. These were frequently embalmed by a rude method, the brains and entrails being taken out; as with the dead of the Indians of North America, their property and food, which were to serve them in their journeys to the world of spirits, were deposited with them. Enclosures, surrounded by high stone walls, were also employed; each family generally possessing a distinct cemetery, though sometimes the dead of a

whole town were deposited in the same cave. The floors of their own houses were used by some as graves; but a great fear prevailed of the shades of the dead, whose apparitions were supposed to hover about their final resting-places, and injure those who came within their reach. In consequence of this ghostly dread, burials were conducted in a private manner, and in the night. A portion of the bones of the worshippers of Pele were thrown into the crater, that they might continue in the society of the volcanic deities, and induce them to protect their living relatives from eruptions.

The fishermen believed, to some extent, in transmigration, and frequently cast their dead into the sea to be devoured by sharks. Their souls were supposed ever after to animate those fishes, and incline them to respect the bodies of the living, should accident ever throw them into their power.

The Hawaiian calendar was based upon a very superficial knowledge of astronomy; the year being divided into two seasons, of six months each, summer and winter, according to the length of the days, and the productiveness of the vegetable kingdom. The summer months were *Ikiki* (May), *Kaaona*, *Hinaiaelelee*, *Kamahoemua*, *Kamahoehope*, and *Ikua* (October); those of the winter, *Welulu*, *Makalii*, *Kaelo*, *Kaelua*, *Nana* and *Welo*. The year commenced with *Makalii* (December), and terminated with *Welehu* (November). They reckoned but nine times forty nights in their years, and appear to have had no idea of the necessity of intercalary days to cause it to correspond to the true solstices. Each month contained thirty nights; the different days and nights derived their names from the varying aspects of the moon, according to her age. The first night was *Hilo* (to twist), because the moon was then a mere thread; the next, *Hoaka* (crescent); then *Kukahi*, *Kulua*, &c. In the moon's first quarter, when the sharp points were lost, the night was called *Huna*, (to conceal); the succeeding, when it became convex, *Mohalu*, (to spread out); the next, *Hua*, (to increase); when it was quite rotund, *Aku*, (clear); when nearly

and quite full, *Hoku*, *Mahealani*, and *Kolu*. Upon the first decrease, *Laaukuhai*, and as it continued to diminish, *Olaaukalua*, *Laaupau*, *Olekukahi*, *Olekulua*, *Olepau*, *Kaloakukahi*, *Kaloakulua*, *Kaloapau*. When it had almost disappeared, *Mauli*, (over-shadowed); when entirely gone, *Muku*, (cut off.) During every month, four periods were set apart, in which the nights were consecrated, or made tabu. The duration of each varied from two to four nights, and they were called the *Kapu-ku*, (the proper tabu), *Kapuhua*, (fruit tabu), *Kapu-kalua*, (cooking tabu), and *Kapukane*, (man tabu).

The only approach towards representing language, or ideas, symbolically, by the Hawaiians, was in the rude scratches or carvings of lines, semicircles, imitations of the human figure, and other rough delineations, occasionally met with on rocks. These were done by travellers, and were intended to record their number, dots being used for that purpose; rings to denote those who had circumambulated the island; if a semicircle, it showed that the party had returned from the place where it was made. Figures of fish and fruit denoted some particular success in the supply at that spot.*

Beside these scrawls, which can scarcely be admitted as an exception, the language was strictly oral. Its chief peculiarities were the simple construction of words, predominancy of vowels, uniform termination and shortness of syllables, which were never composed of more than three letters, and generally of but two, while very many have but one. A vowel terminating every word and syllable, renders the language peculiarly soft and harmonious. Its sounds are few and simple, twelve letters only being required to represent those purely Hawaiian. Of these, when reduced to writing, the vowels received the sounds peculiar to them in the principal languages of the continent of Europe, while the consonants, H, K, L, M, N, P, W, retained the English accent.

* Ellis's Tour through Hawaii, p. 431.

An adult Hawaiian cannot, without much difficulty, be taught to pronounce two consonants without a vowel between them. Latterly, many words and sounds have been introduced, which require other letters of the English alphabet, and the language will, as intercourse with foreigners increases, become further modified. The vowel terminations are invariably retained. There are many diphthongs, though, generally, two vowels coming together retain their distinct and separate sounds. Though the letters K and L only occur in writing, in conversation K and T, or L, R and D, are synonymous,—the natives of some districts using the latter, others the former, as Kauai or Tauai, Lanai or Ranai, Lono or Rono, Lii-lii, Rii-rii or Dii-dii. To this variableness in the use of these letters, is owing the difference of spelling, among foreigners, of those words which have become almost incorporated with the English language—as kapu and tabu, kalo and taro, kapa and tapa, and some others.

CHAPTER IV.

Physical Appearance of the Hawaiians — Chiefs — Habits of — Common People—Women—Marriage—Affinities of Blood—Friendships—Salutation — Cannibalism — Intemperance — Treatment of Sick — Lunatics—Aged—Infanticide—Examples of — Treatment of Women — Tabus of Food—General Character of the Hawaiians previous to contact with the Whites.

A MARKED difference, in stature and appearance, prevailed between the higher and lower orders. The former were almost invariably tall, stout, and well formed, and, in most instances, as age advanced, increased to unwieldly corpulence; the latter were, upon the average, middle-sized, perhaps falling somewhat short of the European standard. Six feet and upwards were common to the stature of the chiefs of both sexes, with gigantic frames, more capable of exerting great strength, than of endurance. It is said of some that they could, by taking a man by the head and leg, break his back across their knees. While some exhibited persons so perfect, with Roman features, and with such full development of muscle, as to have delighted the eye of a sculptor, others were remarkable for their size and weight alone; from three to four hundred pounds being not an uncommon gravity. The female chiefs, when young, possessed interesting and intelligent features, which, however, soon became lost, as their bulk increased; this, fortunately, in the eyes of their lords, only heightened their charms. When these were most matured, they became almost as helpless as the belles of the Celestial empire. The latter tottered from want of feet of sufficient size to support frames of scarcely larger proportions; those of the former, though stout, were equally feeble to sustain the immense bulk above. Their flesh hung in

deep folds about them; their walk, a majestic stagger; their carriage lofty, and betokening an innate pride of birth and rank.

No aristocracy was ever more distinctly marked by nature. To a superficial observer, they might have appeared as a distinct race. The monopoly they enjoyed of the good gifts of Providence, with the greater exercise of their mental faculties, (for they did most of the thinking for the people,) served, every generation, to increase the distinction between the two classes. The great personal size was doubtless partly inherited, and partly the result of early care. The young chiefs, unless they otherwise desired, were always borne on the shoulders of attendants;* their only exercises were games, sufficient to excite and amuse, without greatly fatiguing; no care or toil was theirs; the abundance of the land and sea was at their disposal; and, from the quantity they daily consumed, particularly of that most nutritious diet, poi, it is not surprising that they gave such material evidence of their training. Did they overeat themselves, (a common case,) menials were always ready to do that for the system, which, otherwise, active exercise could only have effected. People were especially trained to *lomi-lomi;* a kind of luxurious kneading or shampooing, and stretching and cracking the joints, which served completely to renovate the system, when suffering either from a surfeit or fatigue. The fatter the chiefs, the more they required this operation.

Their most common position was reclining upon divans of fine mats, surrounded by a retinue, devoted solely to their physical gratification. Some fanned, brushed away insects, and

* A favourite method of conveyance once existed, called *manele;* a rude palanquin borne on the shoulders of four or more men. But it became unfashionable, from the following circumstance. A certain extremely corpulent chief of Kauai, remarkable for his crabbed petulant disposition, compelled his carriers to take him up and down the steepest precipices; his amusement and satisfaction being proportionate with the difficulty of the task. However, they retorted one day, and relieved themselves of their burden, by pitching him headlong over the steep, which put an end to him and the custom.

held spittoons; others fed them, *lomi-lomied*, or dressed their hair or persons. In short, the extremes of activity or laziness, temperance or sensuality, were wholly at their option. Ambition and apathy, superstition and avarice, love and pleasure, by turns controlled them; and war, priestcraft, and oppression, varied by occasional acts of good nature, or the ebullitions of innate benevolence, which even such an education could not wholly eradicate, were the lot of their subjects.

Among them a considerable degree of physical beauty existed, though on a less noble scale. Some were perfect models of light and active gracefulness; but their general appearance bespoke their condition, as "hewers of wood and drawers of water." They were supple, hardy, and inured to toil; yet, either from the debilitating effects of the climate, or a positive physical inferiority, the result of difference of food and living, incapable of the same work as the Caucasian race.

The general cast of features prevailing among the whole group, was similar to that of all Polynesia, and analogous to the Malay, to which family of the human race they doubtless belong. A considerable variety in colour existed, from a light olive to an almost African black; the hair was coarse, and equally dissimilar, varying from the straight, long black, or dark brown, to the crispy curl peculiar to the negro. This latter was comparatively rare. White hair among children was common. A broad, open, vulgarly good-humoured countenance prevailed among the males, and a more pleasing and engaging look with the females. Both bespoke the predominance of gross animal passions. Many of the latter, when young, were pretty and attractive. Though farther from the equator, both sexes are some shades darker than the Tahitians, Marquesans, or Ascension islanders; all of whom excel them in personal beauty. As with them, a fulness of the nostril, without the peculiar flatness of the negro, and a general thickness of lips, prominent and broad cheek bones, and narrow, high and retreating foreheads, resembling the

Asiatic, predominated. Instances of deformity were not more common than in civilised life. Their teeth were white, firm and regular; but their eyes were generally blood-shot, which was considered a personal attraction. The hands of the women were soft, well made, with tapering fingers. When the sex arrived at maturity, which took place from ten to twelve years of age, they presented slight and graceful figures; which a few years soon settled into embonpoint, and a few more made as unattractive as they were before the reverse.

No regular marriage ceremonies existed; though, on such occasions, it was customary for the bridegroom to cast a piece of cloth on the bride, in the presence of her family. A feast was then furnished by the friends of both parties. The number of wives depended upon the inclination of the man, and his ability to support them. Though the common men usually lived with one woman, who performed household labours, no binding tie existed; each party consulting their wishes for change, joining or separating, as they agreed or disagreed. As a general thing, there was no such sentiment as chastity: sensual desires were gratified as choice prompted; their only rules being their wishes, modified by jealousy or fear. Visitors of equal or greater rank than their hosts, were accommodated with women, as a necessary exercise of hospitality. The wives of the chiefs were guarded with great care, to prevent their indulging in too great license.

The family alliances, or, more properly speaking, connexions, were of the most intricate and shocking nature. Custom obliged the highest chief to marry the next in rank; consequently, brothers and sisters, own cousins, nieces and uncles, nephews and aunts, frequently exercised towards each other the relations of husband and wife. The most complexed affinities resulted from this unnatural law. The highest female chiefs enjoyed the same connubial privileges as to the selection and number of those of the other sex. Sometimes, father and son were husbands of the same wife.

Notwithstanding this general depravity, instances of love and affection were not uncommon. The exchange of names was the strongest proof of friendship; and a partiality thus established, entitled the recipients mutually to exercise the utmost freedom of persons or property. If they were chiefs, their dependents acknowledged this ideal relationship, by the same homage and services. Or, if a chief thus adopted an inferior, his influence in household matters was scarcely less than his patron's. An embrace with the noses touching, was the most affectionate mode of salutation.

Some doubt formerly existed, whether cannibalism ever prevailed in the group. The natives themselves manifested a degree of shame, horror and confusion, when questioned upon the subject, that led Cook and his associates, without any direct evidence of the fact, to believe in its existence; but later voyagers disputed this conclusion. The confessions of their own historians, and the general acknowledgment of the common people, have now established it beyond a doubt; though, for some time previous to Cook's visit, it had gradually decreased, until scarcely a vestige, if any, of the horrible custom remained. This humanizing improvement, so little in accordance with their other customs, was a pleasing trait in their national character. It may have been the result of instruction and example derived from their earliest European visitors, or a self-conviction of its own abomination. Be that as it may, a public sentiment of disgust in regard to it prevailed at that period, highly creditable to them as a nation, and distinguished them from their more savage cotemporaries of New Zealand, the Marquesas, and even from the more polished Tahitian. Many generations gone by, it was not uncommon for them to indulge, after the close of a battle, in the fierce and bloody delight of roasting their slain enemies, and devouring their flesh like ravenous wild dogs, as the sweetest and most glorifying consummation of revenge. Later still, it was confined to certain robber chieftains, who infested mountain paths, and the recesses of forests, from which they sallied

forth, the terror of the less ferocious inhabitants; slaying, plundering, and gorging, like vultures, upon the flesh of their victims. As of the ghouls, and monstrous creations of Eastern tales, a superstitious dread of their haunts prevailed, which the marvellous tales spread abroad of their prowess and cruelty, served to increase. The warrior became famous who dared beard these "lions in their dens." If successful, his name, with all the eclat of the knight-errant of the days of chivalry, was celebrated in song and dance for many generations.

In the use of *awa*, a liquor manufactured from the root of the *ti* plant, the chiefs were exceedingly intemperate. Its effects were very pernicious, covering the body with a white scurf, or scales, like the scurvy, inflaming the eyes, and causing premature decrepitude. It was also taken as a medicine, and was supposed to be an effectual remedy for corpulence. No other intoxicating liquor was known.

Lunatics were occasionally treated with attention and respect, being supposed to be inspired by some god; more commonly they shared the fate of the aged and sick, as objects of contempt and ridicule. Heathen charity had little respect for those unable to help themselves; hence the deformed, dependent, foolish, and blind, were made the cruel sport of idlers, or left to perish. Age and helplessness were frequently cast out from homes which their own hands had reared, and abandoned to die by the road-side, uncared for and unpitied by neighbour or relative, their corpses the prey of prowling dogs.

Humanity to the aged and afflicted could not be expected from those whose "tender mercies were cruelty" to their own offspring. Multitudes were yearly destroyed before birth, by means which will not bear record, and which caused permanent injury to the mother. As many, perhaps, were murdered, weeks, months, and even years, after they saw light. Parents had authority of life and death over their young, accountable to no one. Infanticide was more prevalent among the poorer classes than the rich. Whim, expediency, or fear

of diminishing their personal charms, to them were adequate motives, to doom their young to a barbarous death. The poor destroyed most of their children to avoid the expense or trouble of rearing them. Other classes, from laziness, ill-humour, or to gratify a malignant disposition. Should a quarrel arise between the parents, the child was liable to be sacrificed. A case happened in Hawaii, in regard to a boy seven years of age. Both parties became frantic with rage; the father seized the child by the wrists with one hand, and the legs in the other, and with one stroke broke its back across his knee, and threw the mangled corpse at the feet of his wife. The child was his own; no one could have interfered to prevent or punish. Some spared two or three, but more destroyed all but one. It was sometimes done by strangling, and often by burying the innocent sufferers alive; both parents uniting in trampling the earth over the form of their murdered babe, the floor of their own hut not unfrequently being the grave. Those who indulged in such a fiendish disposition, it is said, destroyed, upon an average, two-thirds of their children. For the credit of humanity, it is to be hoped that it was not so prevalent, as some recent writers have supposed; else its increase was latterly great. Numbers of women are to be found, who confess to the murder of from three to six and eight children. I have seen one, who herself was buried alive, by her own mother, but disinterred in time to save her life, by a charitable neighbour, who adopted her. Females being considered as less useful than males, were more often destroyed.

Cook, in his account of Kauai, praises their parental affection and kindness. But voyagers, in such superficial observations, as shortness of time, and ignorance of language allow them to make, are liable to error. More authentic records, and subsequent examinations, have proved infanticide, in all its horrible shades, to have been a common custom. Not perhaps to such an extent as, by itself, to occasion a great decrease of population, though joined with other causes it

produced most deplorable results. Tenderness to the living was not to be increased by the exercise of so fell a passion. Hawaiian parents had a kind of animal affection for their offspring, which, like any instinct, was not governed by reason, and was as often injurious as beneficial. The ill-effects of this were apparent in their education. There was no regular family discipline; a caress or blow being the only reward or punishment. It was a common practice to give away children; towards whom a community of feeling, the result of the very promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, must necessarily have existed. Children could seldom determine their real parents. Dogs and swine were quite as frequently objects of fondness, and allowed more indulgences, and better food than fell to the lot of their biped companions; their mothers' breasts giving suck to the brute in preference to the immortal being.

The cleanliness of the islanders has been much praised, but equally without reason. Frequent bathing kept their persons in tolerable order; but the same filthy clothing was worn while it would hold together. The lodgings of the common orders were shared with the brutes, and their bodies a common receptacle of vermin. All, of every age and sex, herded in common; the same mat beneath them at night, and the same tapa above. If a fly perchance alighted on their food, their delicate stomachs became sick; but the same sensitive organ found delicious morsels in the raw, uncleaned entrails of animals or fish; and the choicest of all, in the fruit of mutual craniological pickings.

Oppressive as were the laws to the men, they were far more so upon the women. Their sex was but an additional motive for insult and tyranny. The right of blood gave to the highest female the power to rule; but she, equally with the humblest dependent, was subject to the iron law of the "tabus." Neither could eat with men; their houses and their labours were distinct; their aliment was separately prepared. A female child from birth to death was allowed

no food that had touched its father's dish. The choicest of animal and vegetable products were reserved for the male child, for the female the poorest; and the use of many kinds, such as pork, turtle, shark, bananas, and cocoanut, were altogether interdicted. Whatever was savoury or pleasant, man reserved for his own palate, while woman was made bitterly to feel her sexual degradation. Her lot was even worse than that of her sex generally in the southern groups. She was excused from no labours, excepting such as were altogether too arduous for her weaker frame. When young and beautiful, a victim of sensuality; when old and useless, of brutality.

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to draw a just outline of the native government, religion, manners, and customs, as they existed prior to the discovery of Cook. In some points, but little change has been experienced to the present day, while in others the alteration has been total. To trace the history of the progress from its primary causes; the influences of commerce, and of civilized man; the gradual development of civilization and Christianity among this benighted race; and to present, in a forcible light, the contrast between the past and present, will be the attempt of future chapters. Modern history affords no more interesting picture than this peaceful and triumphant revolution. Its action has been but partially understood and represented. Civilization and Christianity have each their interested advocates, who endeavour to build up their favourite systems at mutual expense. Their influence has been generally presented as that of rival institutions; the destruction of one to be the erection of the other. Both views are equally apart from truth.

The Hawaiian character, uninfluenced by either of the above causes, may be thus summed up. From childhood no natural affections were inculcated. Existence was due rather to accident than design. Spared by a parent's hand, a boy lived only to become the victim of a priest, an offering to a blood-loving deity, or to experience a living death from preternatural fears:—a slave, not only to his own superstitions, but

to the terrors and caprices of his chief. Life, limb, or property, were not his to know. Bitter, grinding tyranny was his lot. No mother's hand soothed the pains of youth, or father's guided in the pursuits of manhood. No social circle warmed his heart by its kindly affections. No moral teachings enkindled a love of truth. No revelation cheered his earthly course, and brightened future hopes. All was darkness. Theft, lying, drunkenness, riots, revelling, treachery, revenge, incest, lewdness, infanticide, murder; these were his earliest and latest teachings. Among them was his life passed. Their commonness excited no surprise. Guilt was only measured by success or failure. Justice was but retaliation, and the law itself arrayed each man's hand against his brother. Games and amusements were but means of gambling and sensual excitement. An individual selfishness which sought present gratification, momentary pleasure, or lasting results, regardless of unholy measures or instruments, was the all-predominating passion. Their most attractive quality, it cannot be called a virtue, was a kind of easy, listless, good-nature, never to be depended upon when their interests were aroused. Instances of a better disposition were sometimes displayed, and occasional gleams of humanity, among which may be mentioned friendship, and a hospitality common to all rude nations, where the distinctions of property are but slightly understood, enlivened their dark characters; but sufficient only to redeem their title to humanity, and not make us altogether "blush and hide our heads," to own ourselves fellow-men. Individuals there were who rose above this level of degradation, and their lives served to render more prominent the vices of the remainder. La Pérouse, though fresh from the Rousseau school of innocence of savage life, thus expressed his opinion. "The most daring rascals of Europe are less hypocritical than these natives. All their caresses were false. Their physiognomy does not express a single sentiment of truth. The object most to be suspected is he who has just received a present,

or who appears to be the most earnest in rendering a thousand little services."—Vol. i. p. 377.

These islanders possessed a power of endurance of pain, which was wonderful to the more delicately-reared white man. A like insensibility pervaded their moral system. Those who live in dangerous climates, or among alarming natural phenomena, manifest a surprising indifference to the surrounding dangers, and engage in the pleasures of life, with more than ordinary zest. The native, accustomed to scenes of blood, seeing his neighbours or friends fall about him, took no warning, but enjoyed his animal pleasures with a heartiness which vigorous health alone could give, and a thoughtlessness of the morrow, and carelessness of results, which deceived many into the opinion that they were a happy, cheerful, and simple race.

Their joys and griefs were equally ephemeral; tears of sorrow could follow in quick succession peals of laughter, and both gave way to an almost immovable apathy; a natural consequence with those whose moral and intellectual world is almost a vacuum, and whose wants and passions are altogether physical. Such happiness as sin, misery, and the most complete moral degradation allows, was indeed theirs. So dark were their conceptions of one of the most pleasurable emotions of the heart, gratitude, that there was found in their language no word to express the sentiment. While it abounded in terms expressive of every shade of vice and crime, it was destitute of those calculated to convey ideas of virtue or rectitude.

CHAPTER V.

Visits to the Hawaiian Islands previous to Cook—Anson's Chart—Spaniards acquainted with Hawaii—Traditions of a Priest—His Character—Landing of Europeans between 1535 and 1650—Shipwreck at Kealakeakua Bay—Ships seen—Tradition of White Men—Other Evidence—First appearance of Cook—His reception—Astonishment of Islanders—Their opinions—Effects of Visit—War on Maui—Cook's Reappearance—First Notice of Kamehameha—Cook's Arrival at Kealakeakua Bay—His Deification—Worship paid him—Remarks—Native Hospitality—Thefts—Cook's Desecration of the Temple—Growing Dislike of Natives—Ships Sail—Return—Succeeding Events—Cook's Death—Ledyard's Account—Native do.—Review of Proceedings—Recovery of Bones—Peace—Departure of Ships—Touch at Oahu—Arrive at Kauai—Wars—Attacked by Natives—Visit Niihau—Final Departure.

Not a reasonable doubt can exist that the Hawaiian islands were visited by Europeans two centuries or more before the era of Cook. The knowledge of such events has been perpetuated in numerous traditions, which coincide with much collateral evidence. The precise time of these visits it is now impossible to ascertain, though from the reigns to which they are referred, and the few particulars which have been preserved relative to them, they must have been long anterior to that of the English navigator. If their original discoverers were the Spaniards, as is most probable, they were acquainted with their position previous to the seventeenth century. In an old chart of that period, captured by Admiral Anson in a Spanish galleon, a cluster of islands called *La Mesa, Los Majos, La Desgraciada*, is found delineated as situated in the same latitude as the Hawaiian islands, and bearing the same relative situation to Roca Partida as on modern charts, though several hundred miles farther eastward. As the Spanish charts of that time were not remarkable for accuracy, the discoveries of Quiros, Mendana, and others, in the Pacific, being also placed in the same

relative nearness to the coast of America, this may have been an error, either of calculation, or the engravers, or design. Their position was directly in the course of their rich Manilla galleons, and would have afforded an inaccessible retreat for the buccaneers and their numerous naval enemies; consequently it would have been a matter of policy to have confined the knowledge of their situation to their own commanders who navigated those seas. As their number was small, rarely more than one ship annually following that track, it is not a matter of surprise that they should have become almost forgotten; perhaps the memory of them only revived at intervals, by their being seen at a distance. Their first visitors must have discovered that there were no mineral treasures to reward a conquest; and little else in those days of thirst for gold, sufficed to tempt the Spanish hidalgo to new scenes of adventure and hardship. The name of one, *Mesa*, which means table, agrees very well with the flat appearance of Mauna Lao on Hawaii, when seen at a great distance. Captain King called it "table-land." The fact that no other group of islands exists in their vicinity, strengthens the supposition in regard to the identity of the cluster upon the Spanish chart, with the modern Sandwich islands.

Further proof must be derived from the aborigines themselves. Cook found in the possession of the natives of Kauai two pieces of iron; one a portion of a hoop, and the other appeared to be part of the blade of a broadsword. The knowledge and use of iron was generally known. These relics may have been the fruit of the voyages of the natives themselves to some of the islands more to the westward, which had been visited by Europeans, or they may have drifted ashore attached to some portion of a wreck; else were left by foreigners themselves—a supposition which, as it coincides with the native traditions, is the most plausible. The long time which had elapsed since their first arrival, and the small store of property brought with them, would naturally account for so little

having survived the multifarious purposes, to which, from its great utility, it was applied. The value attached to these foreign articles would naturally among savages beget contests, which would greatly add to their chances of being lost.

Tradition states that ships were seen, many generations back, to pass the islands at a distance. They were called *moku* (islands), a name which vessels of every description have since retained.

Several accounts of the arrival of different parties of foreigners exist. One states, that in the reign of Kahoukapu a *kahuna* (priest) arrived at Kohala, the northwest point of Hawaii. He was a white man, and brought with him a large and a small idol, which, by his teachings and persuasions, were enrolled in the Hawaiian calendar of gods, and a temple erected for them. Paao, which was the name of this stranger, became a powerful and influential man, and, if the statement is true, a humane one. He induced the king to spare the life of one of his sons, who had been ordered to execution.

Kahoukapu reigned eighteen generations of kings previous to Kamehameha I. As few of them died natural deaths, their reigns were very short, and probably did not average above ten to fifteen years each. If such were the case, it would bring the arrival of Paao to somewhere between the years 1530 and 1600, a period brilliant in the annals of Spanish maritime discovery in the Pacific.* From 1568 to 1595,

* Diego de Becerra, and Hernando de Grijalva, sailed from Mexico in 1533, and discovered an island in the South Seas, situated in 20° 30′ north latitude, and *about* 100° west longitude from Paris, which they called St. Thomas island. The latter discovered the islands now called the Revillagigedos.

Juan Gætan, in 1542, discovered between the ninth and twentieth degrees of north latitude, and in various longitudes, several clusters of islands, which he named the Coral, Garden, and Sailor islands. It is not improbable that the Hawaiian islands were visited during this period. The latitude in both instances agrees with their situation; but the attempt to identify them with certainty must prove futile, from the meagreness of the journals, and the great inaccuracies in longitudinal observations. It was a matter of policy with the Court of Madrid, at the end of the 16th century, to suppress journals of discoveries, or so discourage explorations that private adventurers rarely were able to enter upon them.

"The Manilla ships are the only ones which have traversed this vast

Mendana crossed the ocean twice, and fell in with several groups. Quiros, a few years afterward, discovered Tahiti, New Hebrides, and many other islands. Perhaps some zealous friar, at his request, was left alone upon Hawaii, in the hope of converting the natives to the Roman Catholic faith, or was the sole survivor of a shipwreck; if so, the attempt is in singular contrast with the forcible proselytism of the partisans of that creed, on the same spot, in modern times. It would, at least, give them the precedence. The idols may have been an image and crucifix, though no traces of the latter have been discovered.

During the life of Opili, the son of Paao, and who succeeded him in his religious offices, a party of white men are said to have landed on the south-west part of the island, thence to have gone inland, and taken up their abode in the mountains. To the natives they were beings of mysterious dread; and whether of divine or merely human origin, they knew not. Opili was sent for, and his advice asked as to the manner of opening an intercourse and propitiating them. By his directions great quantities of provisions were prepared and sent them, in solemn procession. Opili walked at the head of the party, with several others of distinction; all of whom bore white flags, symbolical of their peaceful intentions. The strangers seeing this, ventured from their retreat. The baked

ocean, except a French straggler or two; and during near two ages in which this trade has been carried on, the Spaniards have with the greatest care *secreted* all accounts of their voyages."—*Introduction to Anson's Voyages*, page 15; London, 1748.

La Perouse is of opinion, that the Coral islands of Gætan were the Sandwich islands. Gætan describes them as affording neither gold or silver, but abounding in cocoa-nut trees, inhabited by a race of naked savages, and surrounded with coral reefs. This is a plausible conjecture, as he took his departure from the port of Nativity, Mexico, in 20° north latitude, and sailed *due west*, 900 leagues, which would bring him directly to the present Hawaiian islands. The latitude of the Garden islands is given as between nine and eleven degrees north. As there are no islands in that position to correspond with the description, and in sailing due west he would not be likely to have fallen six hundred miles to the south, it is highly probable that the latitude ascribed was a typographical, if not an intentional error. Change the degrees to the 19th and 21st, and the true latitude is found, while the distance west gives the correct longitude.

pigs and potatoes, and other dainties, were deposited on the ground, and the carriers retreated a short distance. When the foreigners approached, Opili addressed them. The presents were gladly received; and a conversation, the particulars of which were not preserved, kept up for some time. It appears that Opili conversed freely with them, which was supposed by the natives to have been owing to a miraculous gift of language. The strangers were then regarded as gods, and treated with the utmost respect; after a considerable stay they left the island, though tradition states not how they embarked. *Manahini* was the name of the principal personage: this term is still common to the Marquesan, Society, and Hawaiian islands, and is used to designate a stranger, guest, or visitor.

Another, and more precise relation, states that, a few years after the departure of the former party, another arrived at Kealakeakua bay, on the west side of Hawaii. Their boat had no masts or sails, but was painted, and an awning was spread over the stern. They were all clad in white and yellow cloth, and one wore a plumed hat. At his side hung a long knife, "*pahi*," which term is still applied to a sword.

This party remained, and formed amicable alliances with the natives, and by their superior skill and knowledge, they soon rose to be chiefs and famed warriors, and for a considerable period, governed Hawaii. Another set are said to have arrived afterwards, at the same spot.

In the reign of Kealiiokaloa, son of Umi, thirteen generations of kings before Cook's arrival, which, according to the previous calculation, would bring it near the year 1620, a vessel, called by the natives Konaliloha, arrived at Pale Keei, on the south side of Kealakeakua bay, Hawaii. Here, by some accident, she was drawn into the surf, and totally wrecked; the captain, Kukanaloa, and a white woman, said to be his sister, were the only persons who reached the land. As soon as they trod upon the beach, either from fear of the inhabitants, or to return thanks for their safety, they pros-

trated themselves, and remained in that position for a long time. The spot where this took place is known, at the present day, by the appellation of Kulou, to bow down. The shipwrecked strangers were hospitably received, invited to the dwellings of the natives, and food placed before them. As runs the tradition, the following question was asked—"Have you ever seen this kind of food?" To which they replied—"We have it growing in our country." By what means they thus freely conversed, is not known, though the Opili, before mentioned, may have again acted as interpreter. Bananas, bread fruit, and ohias, (wild apples) were given them, which they ate with much satisfaction. They formed connections with the native Hawaiians, and gave birth to a mixed race, from which a number of chiefs and common people are said to have descended.

Another statement speaks of two vessels wrecked on the north-east coast of Hawaii, and that none of the crews were saved, being either lost in the surf or murdered as soon as they landed.*

There is a tradition extant of a ship that touched at Maui about this period, and it is possible, upon further examination, the same or others were seen at the leeward islands, as one could not be visited without a knowledge being obtained of their neighbours. In clear weather, from certain points, several islands are within the range of the eye.

Probably more will never be known of these visits than the above traditions furnish. Though somewhat inconsistent in a few particulars, and generally vague, they are quite as explicit as those that relate to their national history. The last of these visits can be referred to a period nearly a century and a half prior to Cook's arrival; a time quite suf-

* Kotzebue, in his last "Voyage round the World," alludes to two anchors which were said to have been found at Hawaii, and were presumed to have belonged to one of those vessels. No other author mentions the circumstance, nor have I been able to gather any light upon the subject from the native accounts, though it is not at all improbable that such did exist, and have since been buried in the sand, or overgrown in the coral reef.

ficient, when coupled with many bloody wars and changes, to have dimmed the recollection of events and thrown a veil over the whole. Enough has been preserved to establish the fact that, centuries since, vessels visited these islands, and that several parties landed on them, and left progeny, whose descendants are distinguished, even to this day, by their lighter skin, and brown or red curly hair, called ehu, and who highly esteem their origin. Kaikoewa, a celebrated warrior and late governor of Kauai, traced his ancestry to one of these strangers. A party of white men, called Hea, are said to have roamed wild in the mountains, occasionally making inroads upon the more fertile districts, much to the terror of the inhabitants, particularly the females.

The graceful form of the helmets, and the elegance of the feathered mantles, so unlike the usual rude arts of the islanders, bearing as they did a striking resemblance, in form, to those formerly worn among the Spaniards, seemed to have derived their origin from visitors of that nation. If they were not originally the result of European taste, they formed a singular deviation from the general costume of Polynesia. The skill displayed in their martial manœuvres, their phalanxes of bristling spears, their well drawn up lines of battle, all savour of foreign improvement, and may be ascribed to hints received from those who, like waifs, were cast upon their shores, and to which they were the forerunners of a civilization destined eventually to spread over the whole group. How far their influence may have extended in improving other arts, it is impossible to ascertain; but some, particularly the good taste and pretty patterns found among their cloths, the fine polish of their wooden bowls, appeared to have owed their perfection to a similar cause. That a few rude sailors or adventurers should not have been able to have revolutionized their system of religion, even if inclined, is not strange; though doubtless their influence, compared with the bloody superstitions among which they were thus cast, was in some degree humanizing. In Paao

the priest, we perceive this principle forcibly illustrated in preventing the death of a doomed man. This individual having been the son of the king, may have been the reason of its being recorded in their traditions, while less conspicuous cases of merciful interference were forgotten in the long catalogue of succeeding cruelties and crimes*.

To whatever extent these islands may have been known to the Spanish navigators, or stragglers across the vast Pacific, from the earlier part of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, who from ignorance or design, left the world unacquainted with their importance, it does not greatly detract from the credit due to the energy and ability displayed by their English successor, Captain Cook. He was probably unaware of their true position; and if to Columbus the discovery of America is to be attributed, equally to Cook is that of the Hawaiian group. Both were simply re-discoveries; the former owing rather to the comprehensive genius of a mind that dared to originate and soar beyond his age; the latter, from actively pursuing the track of discovery, and infusing into its course renewed life and vigour. In following other and important designs, he was brought in contact with this valuable group†.

* A number of Hawaiian words are somewhat analogous to the Spanish, and may have been derived from them, though it is only the fact of their former intercourse that throws any probability upon this conjecture. *Pono*, good, fair, or just, could, without much change, have been derived from the Spanish *bueno*, or the Portuguese *bono*, both of which have the same signification. *Poko*, short, is like the Spanish *poco*, little.

† It has been suggested that Cook had possession of Anson's chart, and expected, by sailing in the course he took, to fall in with land. He actually inquired of the natives of Tahiti if any islands lay to the north of them. In his journal no great surprise is evinced at discovering land in that direction; though had he been a few miles further to the west, he would have passed it unseen; and it is natural to suppose, that so distinguished a navigator had examined all charts and voyages calculated to throw any light upon the track he was pursuing. The knowledge that a group of islands did exist somewhere in the North Pacific, which he successfully sought for, is more to his credit than if accident alone occasioned the discovery; but to acknowledge no assistance from the labours of others, and to endeavour to appropriate to himself the sole honour of the adventure, is unworthy of either him or his biographers. A silence in regard to the maritime efforts of his predecessors, is observable throughout

So long a period had elapsed since the eyes of the natives had been greeted with sights foreign to their own islands, that the memory of them had become obscure, and perhaps with the generality forgotten. The appearance of Cook's ships, when he first made the islands of Niihau and Kauai, on the 19th of January 1778, was, to their unsophisticated senses, novel, fearful, and interesting. Canoes filled with wondering occupants, approached, but no inducement could prevail upon them to go on board, though they were not averse to barter. Iron was the only article prized in exchange; the use of other things was unknown, and even ornaments at first despised.

On the following evening, the ships came to anchor in Waimea Bay, on the south side of Kauai. As the islanders were not generally apprised of their arrival until morning, their surprise was then extreme. They asked of one another, "What is this great thing with branches?" Some replied, "It is a forest which has moved into the sea." This idea filled them with consternation. Kaneonea and Keawe were the chief rulers, and reigned over both islands. They sent men to examine the wondrous machines, who returned and reported abundance of iron, which gave them much joy. Their description of the persons of the seamen was after this manner: "foreheads white, bright eyes, rough garments, their speech unknown, and their heads horned like the moon;" supposing their hats to be a part of their heads. Some conjectured them to be women. The report of the great quantity of iron seen on board the ships, excited the cupidity of the chiefs, and one of their warriors volunteered

his journals. In the map of the world attached to Anson's Voyages, published in 1748, the Sandwich Islands are delineated under their Spanish appellations, correct as to latitude, and but *ten* degrees too far to the west. Another island, St. Francisco, is placed within *one* degree of the true position of Hawaii, and from its extent, corresponds well with that island. To believe that Cook was ignorant of this map, or had not read with attention so popular a work as was then Anson's Voyages, is to accuse him of unpardonable negligence in acquiring knowledge proper to his profession.

to seize it, saying, "I will go and take it, as it is my business to plunder." He went, and in the attempt was fired upon and killed.

In the account of the commencement of the intercourse between the two races, I adhere principally to the description given since by the native historians, of the sensations and singular ideas produced in the minds of their ancestors, by the novel appearance of the strangers. It is seldom, where the disparity of power and knowledge is great, that both sides are heard, and correct opinions formed. In this instance, the knowledge of writing, acquired before that generation had altogether passed away, served to preserve the memory and incidents of the strange events fresh in the minds of their children, and have given to the world the opportunity to draw just inferences from mutual relations. Both dwell with emphasis upon those circumstances which to each were the most surprising; though from the greater novelty, the astonishment was far more among the natives than their visitors, and they have recorded in their simple narratives many trifling circumstances which were not thought worthy of place in the more enlightened accounts.

Cook does not mention the death of the warrior-thief, but states that on the evening before the ships anchored, he sent some boats ashore to select a watering-place. The party, upon landing, were pressed upon by the natives, who attempted to seize their arms, oars, and other articles, in consequence of which the commanding officer gave orders to fire, which was done, and one man killed. This produced no hostility from the natives, as it agreed perfectly well with their own rude notions of justifiable retaliation.

Throughout all the intercourse, though the natives manifested the greatest respect and kindness toward their visitors, and both parties indulged in a lucrative trade, yet their propensity for thieving was continually manifested. Perfectly ready to yield their own property or persons to the gratification of the whites, it was but natural that, without any par-

ticular sense of wrong, they should desire the same liberties. Theft or lying were to them no crimes. Success in either was a virtue, and it was not until several severe lessons, in regard to the enormity of the former had been received, that their discretion got the better of temptation.

During the visit, which lasted but a few days, the commander manifested a laudable humanity, in endeavouring to shield the population from the evil effects which so inevitably result from connexion between foreign seamen and the native females. But his efforts were vain. If the discipline of his own crew could have been strictly enforced, the eagerness of the women was not to be repressed. The native history thus accounts for its commencement, by which it will be seen that, however praiseworthy the motives of the commanders of those expeditions may have been, the licentious habits of the natives themselves were sure to counteract them.

The night after the attempt of Kapupua, the warrior-thief, many guns were discharged. The noise and fire were imagined to proceed from the god *Lono*, or Cook, and they at first thought of fighting him. But this design was frustrated by the advice of a female chief, who counselled them, "not to fight the god, but gratify him, that he might be propitious." Accordingly she sent her own daughter with other women on board, who returned with the seeds of that disease which so soon and so fatally spread itself throughout the group.

On February 2d, the ships sailed from Niihau, where they had spent the greater portion of their stay, for the north-west coast of America. During this time they became acquainted with the existence of Oahu, having seen it at a distance, but received no information of the more windward islands.

This visit was auspicious of the great revolution which the islands were destined to undergo. It had commenced on the one side with theft and prostitution, which had been repaid by death and disease. Still the superior knowledge, huma-

nity, and forbearance of the whites, had been seen and acknowledged, and their first moral lessons in the distinctions of property, the foundation of all commercial prosperity, received.

The wonderful news spread rapidly. It soon reached Oahu, from whence one Moho, a Hawaiian, carried the particulars to Kalaniopuu, king of Maui. The strange spectacle of the vessels, with their sails, spars, and flags, were minutely described. "The men," he said, "had loose skins, (their clothes,) angular heads, and they were gods indeed. Volcanoes belching fire, burned at their mouths, (tobacco pipes,) and there were doors in their sides for property,—doors which went far into their bodies, (pockets,) into which they thrust their hands, and drew out knives, iron, beads, cloth, nails, and everything else." In this description, which he gave second-hand, he appears to have considered the ships, equally with their crews, as animated beings, else so to have confused the two as to have forgotten their appropriate distinctions—an error into which savages readily fall, and which accounts for the great abundance of fables and confused description which usually pervades their stories. He also mimicked their speech, representing it rough, harsh, and boisterous.

A small piece of canvas had been procured by the chief of Kauai, which he sent as a present to the king of Oahu; he gallantly gave it to his wife, who wore it in a public procession, in the most conspicuous part of her dress, where it attracted the greatest attention.

During the interval between Cook's first and last visit, a war had broken out between Hawaii and Maui, in which Kalaniopuu (the Tereoboo of Cook, and Teraiobu of Ledyard) the king of Hawaii, contested the sovereignty of the latter island with Kahekili (Titeree), the reigning prince. On this occasion, Kamehameha* accompanied him. This is the first

* The orthography of native names, before the language was systematized by the American missionaries, was various and perplexing. Kamehameha was written many different ways. By Captain King, Maiha-Maiha

notice we have of this celebrated man, who was then a mere youth, the nephew of Kalaniopuu, and even at that early age gave evidence of the courage and enterprising spirit which afterward so conspicuously distinguished him. On the 26th of November, 1778, a battle had been fought between the contending parties, which proved favourable to Kalaniopuu. The victors on the eve of the same day returned to Wailuku, on the north side of Maui, to refresh their forces. When the morning dawned, the stranger "islands and gods," of which they had heard, appeared in view. Cook's vessel stood in near the shore, and commenced a traffic, which the natives entered into freely and without much surprise, though observing the port-holes, they remarked to each other, "those were the doors of the things of which we have heard, that make a great noise." Kalaniopuu sent him off a present of a few hogs, and on the 30th went himself in state to make a visit. His nephew accompanied him, and with a few attendants remained all night, much to the consternation of the people on shore, who, as the vessel stood to sea, thought he had been carried off, and bitterly bewailed his supposed loss. The following morning showed them the contrary; for their young chief was safely landed, and Cook, ignorant of the rank of his visitor, sailed for Hawaii, which had been discovered the previous day.

He arrived off Kohala on the 2d of December, and his ships created much astonishment among the simple islanders. "Gods, indeed," they exclaimed; "they eat the flesh of man, (mistaking the red pulp of water-melons for human substance,) and the fire burns at their mouths." However, this opinion of their divine character did not deter them from exchanging swine and fruit for pieces of iron hoop. The

by others, Cameamea, Tomyhomyhaw, Hameaymea, Tomooma. Vancouver and Turnbull were the nearest correct; the former wrote it, Tamaahmaah; the latter, Tamahama. Kalaimoku, his prime minister, Crymakoo. Kaumualii, king of Kauai, Tomoree. Any one acquainted with the nature of the true vowel sounds will readily identify the various names in their modern dress, with those given by the early voyagers, which will render it unnecessary to record their multifarious spellings.

definition which civilised man applies to the word God, and the attributes ascribed to the Divinity, differ materially from those of the savage. With him any object of fear, power, or knowledge, was a god, though it might differ not perceptibly from his own nature. The ancients deified their illustrious dead, and, as in the case of Herod, applied the title, god, to the living. In neither case can it be supposed to denote more than an acknowledged superiority, or the strongest expression of flattery. While the Hawaiians bowed in dread to powerful deities, which in their hardened understandings filled the place of the Christian's God, they worshipped a multitude of inferior origin, whom they ridiculed or reverenced, and erected or destroyed their heiaus, as inclination prompted. Hence their willingness at Waimea to fight Cook, or their god Lono, as they deemed him; the readiness with which they were diverted from their purpose to try more winning means to gratify him; and the alternate love, fear, and hostility, with which he was afterward regarded.

Cook continued his course slowly around the east end of the island, occasionally trading with the natives, whose propensity to thieving was overcome only by exhibiting the dreadful effects of fire-arms. On the 17th of January, 1779, he came to anchor in Kealakeakua bay, in the district of Kona, the reputed spot of the landing of Spanish adventurers two centuries before. Kalaniopuu was still engaged on Maui, in preserving his conquest. At the bay it was a season of tabu, and no canoes were allowed to be afloat; but when the ships were seen, the restrictions were removed, as Lono was considered a deity, and his vessels temples.

The inhabitants went on board in great crowds, and among them Palea, a high chief, whose favourable influence was secured by a few acceptable presents. The seamen employed in caulking the vessels were called the clan of Mokualii, the god of canoe-makers; and those who smoked (for it was the first acquaintance they had with tobacco), were called Lono-volcano. As at Kauai, the women were the most assiduous

visitors, though great numbers of both sexes flocked around Cook to pay him divine honours. Among them was a decrepit old man, once a famed warrior, but now a priest. He saluted Captain Cook with the greatest veneration, and threw over his shoulder a piece of red cloth. Stepping back, he offered a pig, and then pronounced a long harangue. Religious ceremonies similar to this were frequently performed before the commander.

Great multitudes flocked to the bay. Ledyard computes their number at upwards of fifteen thousand, and states that three thousand canoes were counted afloat at once. The punctilious deference paid Cook when he first landed, was both painful and ludicrous. Heralds announced his approach, and opened the way for his progress. A vast throng crowded about him. Others, more fearful, gazed from behind stone walls, from the tops of trees, or peeped from their houses. The moment he approached, they either hid themselves, or covered their faces with great apparent awe; while those nearer prostrated themselves on the earth in the deepest humility. As soon as he passed, all unveiled themselves, rose, and followed him. As he walked fast, those before were obliged to bow down and rise as quickly as possible; but not always being sufficiently spry, were trampled upon by the advancing crowd. At length the matter was compromised, and the inconvenience of being walked over avoided by adopting a sort of quadruped gait; and ten thousand half-clad men, women and children, were to be seen chasing, or fleeing from Cook, on all-fours.

On the day of his arrival, Cook was taken to the chief heiau, and presented in great form to the idols. He was led to the most sacred part, and placed before the principal figure, immediately under an altar of wood, on which a putrid hog was deposited. This was held toward him, while the priest repeated a long and rapidly-enunciated address; after which he was led to the top of a partially-decayed scaffolding. Ten men, bearing a large hog, and bundles of red cloth, then

entered the temple, advanced near him, and prostrated themselves. The cloth was then taken from them by a priest, who encircled Cook with it in many folds, and afterwards offered the hog to him in sacrifice. Two priests, alternately and in unison, chanted praises in honour of Lono; after which they led him to the chief idol, which, following their example, he kissed.

Similar ceremonies were repeated in another portion of the heiau, where Cook, with one arm supported by the high-priest, and the other by Captain King, was placed between two wooden images. He was then anointed on his face, arms, and hands, with the chewed kernel of a cocoa-nut, wrapped in a cloth; the disgusting rites were completed by drinking *awa*, which was first prepared in the mouths of attendants, and then spit out into a drinking-vessel, and being fed with swine-meat, which, as the greatest mark of civility, was first chewed for him by a filthy old man.

It seems impossible that any one in the least acquainted with the customs of Polynesia could for a moment have doubted that all this form was intended for adoration. Captain King, in his account of the affair, only surmises that such may have been the intention, but affects to consider it more as the evidence of great respect and friendship. The natives say that Cook performed his part in this heathen farce, without the slightest opposition. The numerous offerings—the idols and temples to which he was borne—the long prayers, recitations, and chants addressed to him, must have carried conviction to his mind, that it was intended solely for religious homage, and the whole form a species of deification or consecration of himself. If this were not enough, the fearful respect shown by the common people, who, if he walked out, fled at his presence, or fell and worshipped, should have convinced the most stupid mind. What opinion must be formed of the religious character of a highly-gifted man, who could thus lend himself to strengthen and perpetuate the dark superstitions of heathenism? The greatest apology offered,

was the expediency of thus securing a powerful influence over the minds of the islanders. That expediency proved his destruction. While the delusion of his divinity lasted, the whole island was heavily taxed to supply the wants of the ships, or contribute to the gratification of their officers and crews, and, as was customary in such gifts, no return expected. Their kindnesses, and the general jubilee which reigned, gave a most favourable impression of native character to their visitors. Had their acquaintance with the language been better, and their intercourse with the common people more extensive, it would have appeared in its true light, as the result of a complete spiritual despotism. On the 19th, Captain Cook visited another heiau, or, more properly, a residence of the priests, with the avowed expectation of receiving similar homage; nor was he disappointed. Curiosity, and a desire to depict the scene, seemed to have been his motives in this case, for he took an artist with him, who sketched the group. Ever afterward, on landing, a priest attended him, and regulated the religious ceremonies which constantly took place in his honour: offerings, chants, and addresses, met him at every point. For a brief period he moved among them, an earthly deity, observed, feared, and worshipped.

The islanders rendered much assistance in fitting the ships, and preparing them for their voyages, but constantly indulged in their national vice, theft. The highest chiefs were not above it, nor of using deception in trade.

On the 24th of January, Kalaniopuu arrived from Maui, on which occasion a tabu was laid upon the natives, by which they were confined to their houses. By this, the daily supply of vegetables was prevented from reaching the vessels, which annoyed their crews exceedingly, and they endeavoured, by threats and promises, to induce the natives to violate the restriction. Several attempted to, but were driven back by a chief, who, for thus enforcing obedience among his own subjects, had a musket fired over his head from one of

the ships. This intimidated him, and the people were allowed to ply their usual traffic.*

Kalaniopuu and his chiefs visited Captain Cook on the 26th, with great parade. They occupied three large double canoes, in the foremost of which were the king and his retinue. Their appearance was quite magnificent; feathered cloaks and gaudy helmets glanced in the bright sunshine, and, with their long, shining lances, gave them a martial appearance. In the second, came the high-priest and his brethren, with their hideous idols; the third was filled with offerings of swine and fruits. After paddling round the ships, the priests chanting awhile with great solemnity, the whole party made for the shore, and landed at the observatory, where Captain Cook received them in a tent. The king threw his own cloak over the shoulders of Cook, put his helmet upon his head, and in his hand a curious fan. He also presented him with several other cloaks, all of great value and beauty. The other gifts were then bestowed, and the ceremony concluded by an exchange of names, the greatest pledge of friendship. The priests then approached, made their offerings, and went through the usual religious rites, interspersed with chants and responses by the chief actors.

Kamehameha was present at this interview. Captain King describes his face as the most savage he ever beheld; its natural ugliness being heightened by a "dirty brown paste or powder," plastered over his hair. The formalities of this meeting over, the king with a number of his chiefs were carried in the pinnace to the flag-ship, where they were received with all due honours. In return for the magnificent presents, Cook gave Kalaniopuu a linen shirt and his own hanger. While these visits were being exchanged, profound silence was observed throughout the bay and on the shore. Not a canoe was afloat, or an inhabitant to be seen, except a few who lay prostrate on the ground.

Afterwards, the tabu interdicting the inhabitants from

* Cook's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 16; London, 1785.

visiting the ships was removed, at the request of Captain Cook, so far as it related to the men. No relaxation could be obtained for the women, who were forbidden all communication with the whites; the result of some unusual precaution, either to prevent the increase of venereal disease, which had already worked its way to the extremity of the group, or of an unwonted jealousy.

The same boundless hospitality and kindness continued. All their simple resources were brought into requisition to amuse the followers of Lono, who, in companies or singly, traversed the country in many directions, receiving services and courtesy everywhere, which to the givers were amply repaid by their gracious reception. Notwithstanding this good feeling, they contrived, as heretofore, to pilfer; for which small-shot were fired at the offenders, and finally one was flogged on board the Discovery.

On the 2d of February, at the desire of the commander, Captain King proposed to the priests to purchase for fuel the railing which surrounded the top of the heiau. In this, Cook manifested as little respect for the religion in the mythology of which he figured so conspicuously, as scruples in violating the divine precepts of his own. Indeed, throughout his voyages, a spirit regardless of the rights and feelings of others, when his own were interested, is manifested, especially in the last cruise, which is a blot upon his memory. It is an unpleasant task to disturb the ashes of one whom a nation reveres; but truth demands that justice should be dispensed equally to the savage, as to the civilised man. The historian cannot so far prove false to his subject, as to shipwreck fact in the current of popular opinion. When necessary, he must stem it truthfully and manfully.

To the great surprise of the proposer, the wood was readily given, and nothing stipulated in return. In carrying it to the boats, all of the idols were taken with it. King, who from the first doubted the propriety of the request, fearing it might be considered an act of impiety, says he spoke to the

high-priest upon the subject, who simply desired that the central one might be restored. If we are to believe him, no open resentment was expressed for this deed, and not even opposition shown. This is highly improbable, when the respect entertained by the natives for their temples and divinities is considered ; and in no case could their religious sentiments have been more shocked. If they were silent, it was owing to the greater fear and reverence with which they then regarded Cook.

Ledyard, who was one of the party employed to remove the fence, gives a much more credible account, and which differs so much from the other, that it is impossible to reconcile the two. King, in his narrative of this and subsequent events, manifests a strong desire to shield the memory of his commander from all blame. Consequently, he passes lightly over or does not allude to many circumstances, which were neither creditable to his judgment nor humanity.

Ledyard, in his relation, states that Cook offered two iron hatchets for the fence, which were indignantly refused, both from horror at the proposal, and the inadequate price. Upon this denial, he gave orders to his men to break down the fence and carry it to the boats, while he cleared the way. This was done, and the images taken off and destroyed by a few rough sailors, in the presence of the priests and chiefs, who had not sufficient resolution to prevent this desecration of their temple, and insult to the manes of their ancestors. Cook once more offered the hatchets, and with the same result. Not liking the imputation of taking the property forcibly, he told them to take them or nothing. The priest to whom he spoke trembled with emotion, but still refused. They were then rudely thrust into the folds of his garment, whence, not deigning to trouble them himself, they were taken by one of his attendants, by his orders. During this scene, a concourse of natives had assembled, and expressed their sense of the wrong in no quiet mood. Some endeavoured

to replace the fence and images, but they were finally got safely on board.

About this juncture, the master's mate of the Resolution had been ordered to bring off the rudder of that ship, which had been sent ashore for repairs. Being too heavy for his men, he requested the assistance of the natives. Either from sport or design, they worked confusedly, and embarrassed the whites. The mate angrily struck several. A chief who was present, interposed. He was haughtily told to order his men to labour properly. This he was not disposed to do, or if he had done, his people were in no humour to comply. They hooted and mocked at the whites; stones began to fly, and the exasperated crew snatched up some trunnels that lay near by, and commenced plying them vigorously about the heads and shoulders of their assailants. The fray increased, and a guard of marines was ordered out to intimidate the crowd; but they were so furiously pelted with stones, that they gladly retired, leaving the ground in possession of its owners. The rudder was taken on board at night.

Other causes were at work augmenting the dissatisfaction, which the near departure of the ships alone prompted them to conceal. Familiarity tends greatly to destroy influence even with the most powerful. Cook and his companions had become common objects, and the passions they constantly displayed, so like their own, lessened the awe with which they were at first regarded. The death and burial ashore of a seaman, had greatly shaken their faith in their divine origin. The most cogent reason operating to create a revulsion of feeling, was the enormous taxes with which the whole island was burthened to maintain them. Their offerings to senseless gods were comparatively few; but hourly and daily were they required for Cook and his followers. They had arrived lean and hungry—they were now fat and sleek—qualities which seemed only to increase the voracious appetites of the seamen. The natives, really alarmed at the

prospect of a famine—for their supplies were never over-abundant for themselves—by expressive signs, urged them to leave. The glad tidings that the day for sailing was nigh, soon spread; and the rejoicing people, at the command of their chief, prepared a farewell present of food, cloth, and other articles, which, in quantity and value, far exceeded any which had heretofore been received. They were all taken on board, and nothing given in recompense. The magnitude of the gifts from the savage, and the meanness of those from the white men, must excite the surprise of any one who peruses the narrative of this voyage.

As a return for the wrestling and boxing matches, the natives were entertained with a display of fire-works, which created the greatest alarm and astonishment. They were considered flying devils, or spirits; and nothing impressed them more forcibly with the great superiority of the arts and power of the white men.

On the 4th of February the ships sailed, but were becalmed in sight of land during that and the following day, which gave Kalaniopuu a fresh occasion to exercise his hospitality, by sending off a gift of fine hogs and many vegetables; —his first and last intercourse being similar acts, while his friendship, during the whole visit, was of the utmost service to the exhausted crews.

But the joy of the inhabitants was destined to be of short duration. In a gale that occurred shortly after, the foremast of the Resolution was sprung, which obliged the vessels to return. They anchored in their former situation, on the 11th of the same month, and sent the spar and necessary materials for repairing it ashore, with a small guard of marines. Their tents were pitched in the heiau formerly occupied. The priests, though friendly, expressed no great satisfaction at this event, but renewed their good services, by proclaiming the place tabu. The damaged sails, with the workmen, were accommodated in a house belonging to them.

Cook's reception this time presented a striking contrast to

his last. An ominous quiet everywhere prevailed*. Not a native appeared to bid them welcome. A boat being sent ashore to inquire the cause, returned with the information that the king was away, and had left the bay under a strict tabu. The sudden appearance of the ships had created a suspicion of their intentions. Another visit as expensive as the former, would entirely have drained their resources. Intercourse was soon renewed, but with a faintness which bespoke its insincerity. The connexions formed by many of their females with the foreigners, to whom some were attached, served, so says native authority, to exasperate the men.

The former injudicious violation of the tabus, both by seamen and officers, sometimes ignorantly, and often in contempt of what appeared to them whimsical and arbitrary restrictions, had aroused the prejudices of the mass. The women in particular had been tempted, though shuddering at the expected consequences, to violate the sacred precincts of the heiau, which had been placed at the disposal of Cook for an observatory and workshop, upon the condition that no seaman should leave it after sunset, and no native be allowed to enter it by night. The immunity from supernatural punishment with which these restrictions had been broken through, on both sides, at first secretly, then openly, had encouraged further disregard of their religious observances. As no attempts had been made on the part of the officers to prevent these infringements, the mutual agreement to which was considered by the chiefs in the light of a sacred compact, they felt a natural irritation. The most sacred portion of the heiau had been used as a hospital and for a sail-loft; with the natives, highly sacrilegious acts; to manifest their disapprobation of which, they had burned the house which stood there, as soon as the shore party evacuated it. From these and similar causes, all amicable feeling was at an end, and even in traffic disputes arose. The bay was again laid under

* Ledyard's Life, by Sparks, p. 105.

tabu. However, affairs went on smoothly until the afternoon of the 13th, when some chiefs ordered the natives who were employed in watering the ships to disperse. At the same time, the natives gave indications of an attack, by arming themselves with stones. At the approach of Captain King with a marine, these were cast aside, and the labourers suffered to continue their work. Cook, upon being informed of these particulars, gave orders, if the natives threw stones, or behaved insolently, to fire upon them with ball.

Soon after, muskets were discharged from the Discovery at a canoe, which was being paddled in great haste for the shore, closely pursued by one of the ship's boats. In the narrative, a bold theft is said to have been the occasion of this proceeding. The natives state it was caused by their expressing dissatisfaction on account of the women, and that the foreigners seized a canoe belonging to Palea, who, in endeavouring to recover it, was knocked down with a paddle by one of the white men. This occurred during the absence of Cook, as he, with King and a marine, had endeavoured, by running along the beach, to cut off the flying canoe, but arrived too late to seize the occupants; they then followed the runaways for some miles into the country, but being constantly misled by the people, they gave over their futile chase. The narrative agrees with the native account in the other particulars. The officer in charge of the pursuing boat was on his return with the goods, which had been restored, when, seeing the deserted canoe, he seized it. Palea, the owner, at the same instant arrived, and claimed his property, denying all knowledge of the robbery. The officer refused to give it up; and in the scuffle which ensued, the chief was knocked down by one of the crew. The natives, who had hitherto looked quietly on, now interfered with showers of stones, which drove the whites into the water, where they swam to a rock out of reach of these missiles. The pinnace was seized and plundered, and would soon have been destroyed, had not Palea, who had recovered from the stunning effects of the blow, exerted his authority

and drove away the crowd. He then made signs to the crew to come and take the pinnace, which they did; and he restored to them all the articles which could be obtained, at the same time expressing much concern at the affray, and parted with them in all apparent friendship.

Mutual suspicion now prevailed. Cook prepared for decisive measures, and ordered every islander to be turned out of the ships. At the heiau the guards were doubled. At midnight a sentinel fired upon a native, who was detected skulking about the walls. Palea, taking advantage of the darkness, either in revenge for his blow, or avaricious of the iron fastenings, stole one of the Discovery's cutters, which was moored to a buoy.

Early the ensuing morning, Sunday, the 14th, Cook determined upon a bold and hazardous step to recover the boat; one which he had on previous occasions successfully practised. It was to secure the king, or some of the royal family, and confine them on board until the cutter was restored, and as hostages for future good conduct. This could only be done by surprise or treachery. For its success he trusted much to the reverence of the natives for his person, blinded by a self-confidence which either would not or did not see the danger of the attempt. If the cutter could not be recovered by peaceable means, he gave orders to seize every canoe which should endeavour to leave the bay. Clerke, the second in command, on whom the duty devolved to lead the shore expedition, being too ill, begged Cook to take the command. To this he agreed. The account by Ledyard of the transactions that followed, of which he was an eye-witness, being near his commander when he fell, is so explicit, and agrees so well with the statements of the natives, that I give it entire:—

"Cook, previous to his landing, made some additional arrangements, respecting the possible event of things, though it is certain from the appearance of the subsequent arrangements, that he guarded more against the flight of Teraiobu, or those he could wish to see, than from an attack, or even much insult. The disposition of our guards, when the movements

began, was thus. Cook in his pinnace, with six private marines, a corporal, sergeant, and two lieutenants of marines, went ahead, followed by the launch with other marines and seamen on one quarter, and the small cutter on the other, with only the crew on board. This part of the guard rowed for Kealakeakua. Our large cutter and two boats from the Discovery had orders to proceed to the mouth of the bay, form at equal distances across, and prevent any communication by water from any other part of the island to the towns within the bay, or from those without. Cook landed at Kiverua (Kaawaloa) about nine o'clock in the morning, with the marines in the pinnace, and went by a circuitous march to the house of Teraiobu, in order to evade the suspicion of any design. This route led through a considerable part of the town, which discovered every symptom of mischief, though Cook, blinded by some fatal cause, could not perceive it, or too self-confident, would not regard it.

"The town was evacuated by the women and children, who had retired to the circumjacent hills, and appeared almost destitute of men; but there were at that time two hundred chiefs, and more than twice that number of other men, detached and secreted in different parts of the houses nearest to Teraiobu, exclusive of unknown numbers without the skirts of the town; and those that were seen were dressed many of them in black. When the guard reached Teraiobu's house, Cook ordered the lieutenant of marines to go in and see if he was at home, and if he was, to bring him out; the lieutenant went in, and found the old man sitting with two or three old women of distinction; and when he gave Teraiobu to understand that Cook was without, and wanted to see him, he discovered the greatest marks of uneasiness, but arose and accompanied the lieutenant out, holding his hand. When he came before Cook, he squatted down upon his hams as a mark of humiliation, and Cook took him by the hand from the lieutenant, and conversed with him.

"The appearance of our parade both by water and on shore, though conducted with the utmost silence, and with as little ostentation as possible, had alarmed the towns on both sides of the bay, but particularly Kiverua, where the people were in complete order for an onset; otherwise it would have been a matter of surprise, that though Cook did not see twenty men in passing through the town, yet before he had conversed ten minutes with Teraiobu, he was surrounded by three or four hundred people, and above half of them chiefs. Cook grew uneasy when he observed this, and was the more urgent to have Teraiobu to go on board, and actually persuaded the old man to go at length, and led him within a rod or two of the shore: but the just fears and conjectures of the chiefs at last interposed. They held the old man back, and one of the chiefs threatened Cook, when he attempted to make them quit Teraiobu. Some of the crowd now cried out

that Cook was going to take their king from them and kill him; and there was one in particular that advanced towards Cook in an attitude that alarmed one of the guard, who presented his bayonet and opposed him, acquainting Cook in the meantime of the danger of his situation, and that the Indians in a few minutes would attack him; that he had overheard the man, whom he had just stopped from rushing in upon him, say that our boats which were out in the harbour had just killed his brother, and he would be revenged. Cook attended to what this man said, and desired him to show him the Indian that had dared to attempt a combat with him; and as soon as he was pointed out, Cook fired at him with a blank. The Indian, perceiving he received no damage from the fire, rushed from without the crowd a second time, and threatened any one that should oppose him. Cook, perceiving this, fired a ball, which entering the Indian's groin, he fell and was drawn off by the rest.

"Cook, perceiving the people determined to oppose his designs, and that he should not succeed without further bloodshed, ordered the lieutenant of marines, Mr. Phillips, to withdraw his men and get them into the boats, which were then lying ready to receive them. This was effected by the sergeant; but the instant they began to retreat, Cook was hit with a stone, and perceiving the man who threw it, shot him dead. The officer in the boats observing the guard retreat, and hearing this third discharge, ordered the boats to fire. This occasioned the guard to face about and fire, and then the attack became general. Cook and Mr. Phillips were together a few paces in the rear of the guard, and, perceiving a general fire without orders, quitted Teraiobu, and ran to the shore to put a stop to it; but not being able to make themselves heard, and being close pressed upon by the chiefs, they joined the guard, who fired as they retreated. Cook, having at length reached the margin of the water, between the fire of the boats, waved with his hat for them to cease firing and come in; and while he was doing this, a chief from behind stabbed him with one of our iron daggers, just under the shoulder-blade, and it passed quite through his body. Cook fell with his face in the water, and immediately expired. Mr. Phillips, not being able any longer to use his fusee, drew his sword, and engaging the chief whom he saw kill Cook, soon despatched him. His guard in the meantime were all killed but two, and they had plunged into the water, and were swimming to the boats. He stood thus for some time the butt of all their force, and being as complete in the use of the sword as he was accomplished, his noble achievements struck the barbarians with awe; but being wounded, and growing faint from loss of blood and excessive action, he plunged into the sea with his sword in his hand, and swam to the boats; where, however, he was scarcely taken on board, before somebody saw one of the marines, that had swam from the shore, lying flat

upon the bottom. Phillips, hearing this, ran aft, threw himself in after him, and brought him up with him to the surface of the water, and both were taken in.

"The boats had hitherto kept up a very hot fire, and lying off without the reach of any weapons but stones, had received no damage, and, being fully at leisure to keep up an unremitted and uniform action, made great havoc among the Indians, particularly among the chiefs, who stood foremost in the crowd and were most exposed; but whether it was from their bravery, or ignorance of the real cause that deprived so many of them of life, that they made such a stand, may be questioned, since it is certain that they in general, if not universally, understood heretofore, that it was the fire only of our arms that destroyed them. This opinion seems to be strengthened by the circumstance of the large thick mats they were observed to wear, which were also constantly kept wet; and, furthermore, the Indian that Cook fired at with a blank discovered no fear when he found his mat unburnt, saying in their language, when he showed it to the bystanders, that no fire had touched it. This may be supposed, at least, to have had some influence. It is, however, certain, whether from one or both these causes, that the numbers that fell made no apparent impression on those who survived; they were immediately taken off, and had their places supplied in a constant succession.

"Lieutenant Gore, who commanded as first lieutenant under Cook in the Resolution, which lay opposite the place where this attack was made, perceiving with his glass that the guard on shore was cut off, and that Cook had fallen, immediately passed a spring upon one of the cables, and, bringing the ship's starboard guns to bear, fired two round shot over the boats into the middle of the crowd; and both the thunder of the cannon, and the effects of the shot, operated so powerfully that it produced a most precipitate retreat from the shore to the town."

The following, translated from the Hawaiian history, briefly recounts the particulars:—

"The captain demanded that the king should obtain and restore the boat, but this could not be done, as it had been demolished by the natives for the sake of its iron. Captain Cook went on shore with a party of his armed men to fetch the king on board his ship, and detain him there till the boat should be restored. While he was endeavouring to accomplish this object, Kekuhaupio crossed the bay from Keeia to Kaawaloa, accompanied by Kalimu, another chief, in a separate canoe. They were fired upon from the ship, and Kalimu was killed, on which Kekuhaupio rowed rapidly to Kaawaloa, and employed his influence to dissuade Kalaniopuu from going to the ship. On the circulation of the news of Kalimu's

death, the people became clamorous for revenge, and one with a short dagger in his hand approached Captain Cook, who, apprehensive of danger, fired his gun at him. The contest now became general. The captain having with his sword struck Kalaimano-kahoowaha, a chief, he seized him with his powerful hand in order to hold him, but with no idea of taking his life, Lono being, as the chief supposed, a god, could not die. But on his crying out, as he was about to fall, the chief concluded he was a man—not a god—and therefore killed him. Then the foreigners in the boat discharged their muskets, and many of the natives were cut down by their fire, against which they found the mats that were employed to shield them, a poor defence. Guns also on board the ship were discharged, which killed others, so that Kalaniopuu fled inland to the precipice with his chiefs and people, taking with them the body of Captain Cook and four of his companions who had been slain. The king then presented the body of the captain in sacrifice, and after that ceremony was performed, proceeded to remove the flesh from the bones, to preserve them. The flesh was consumed with fire. The heart was eaten by some children, who had mistaken it for that of a dog; their names were Kupa, Mohoole, and Kaiwikokoole. Some of the bones of the captain were afterwards returned to the ship, and the rest preserved by the priests and worshipped."

Captain King's relation differs not materially from those I have given. He states that Cook, after conversing with Kalaniopuu, though he was satisfied that he was innocent of the theft, still determined to persevere in his original design. Accordingly he invited him, with his two sons, to spend the day on board the Resolution, to which they readily consented; the boys had actually embarked, when their mother, with many tears, dissuaded the party from going. He also attributes Cook's endeavours to stop the firing of the men to his humanity: as, but the day before he had given orders to the marines to fire upon the people, if they behaved even insolently, it is more reasonable to suppose that he had become alarmed for his own safety, and wished not farther to exasperate the natives. His look inspired consternation to the last; and it was not until his back was turned that he received his death-blow.*

* This was received from an iron dagger of their own make. Cook himself ordered their manufacture after the model of the native weapon, for

Such was the fate of this celebrated navigator. His name has become identified with the islands which he made known to the world. Pilgrimages are annually made to the spot of his death. By all classes, but more especially by those of his own profession, is he regarded as a martyr to his adventurous courage; and his self-denial, patience, skill and judgment, together with his bold and manly designs, and their successful accomplishment, have been constantly held up as exemplars for the youthful seamen. The melancholy circumstances attending his untimely end created so deep a sympathy in the minds of not only his own countrymen, but of all other maritime nations, as to entirely exclude inquiry into its causes, and to throw a veil over faults which otherwise would have been conspicuous, and exhibited his character in a more faithful light.

While it is not my desire to detract one tittle from the fame lawfully his due, yet I cannot, with his biographers, gloss over the events which occurred at the Hawaiian islands. Perhaps most of the errors he committed are to be attributed to his temper, which, to use the cautious words of his attached friend and companion, King, "might have been justly blamed." No one ever made the acquaintance of the aborigines of a heretofore unknown land, under more novel, yet favourable circumstances. Public feeling had been alive for many generations, with the expectation of an old and beloved king to be restored to them, invested with the attributes of divinity. When Cook arrived, not a doubt existed that he was that god.

The resources of the natives were placed at his disposal. All that kindness, devotion, and superstition could effect among a barbarous people was his. No other navigator experienced a similar welcome. Treachery, or open war, rather than friendship or courtesy, was more often their lot.

the purposes of trade, and his example was followed by every one who could find sufficient iron. They were freely bartered away. The day the Resolution put back, Kamehameha, who slept on board that night, obtained eight from Captain Clerke, in exchange for a feather cloak.

There is no reason to suppose, but that such would have been Cook's, had not tradition so favourably prepared the way for him. He had met with a hostile spirit elsewhere; but here, so warm was his welcome, and so general the joy that prevailed, that the worst features of savage nature were masked; and, in consequence, a favourable opinion formed of their domestic life and government, which later and more extended investigations have not been able to verify. Through all his intercourse, but one occasion of complaint existed,—theft. Would that the natives had no greater charge to bring against him! With his influence, much might have been done toward enlightening their minds in the fundamental principles of religion. At least, he could have done as did Vancouver, (a junior officer then with him,) a few years afterwards, whose justice and benevolence are a strong rebuke to the course of Cook. By the former they were told of the existence of one God, the creator alike of them and the whites. From the supposed character of the latter, his instructions would have carried with them the force of revelation, and their effect could not have been otherwise than beneficial. What was his course I have already shown.* Pilfering or insolence were met with death, either dealt or ordered so to be, without the slightest attempt to distinguish between the guilty and innocent. A chief, in executing a law of his sovereign, was intimidated by the firing of a musket over his head; an abuse sufficient to aggravate the

* This apathy is the more remarkable, as Kanina, a chief, whom Captain King describes as "possessing a quickness of conception and judicious curiosity rarely to be met with among these people," made many pertinent inquiries in regard to the nature of the English government, their population, manufactures, manners and customs, wars, and particularly "*who was their God.*" It is due to Captain King to state, that he appears on all occasions to have endeavoured to treat the natives with justice and humanity. But his influence, with that of others who might have been disposed to join with him, was altogether neutralized by the dominant prejudices of Cook. This Kanina, who had proved himself a valuable friend, was killed in the attack. It is somewhat remarkable, that in this encounter, the real friends of the English suffered far more than their enemies; a misfortune which, from the attending circumstances, could not have been avoided, as those most hostile, and those most desirous of peace, were mixed together in the crowd, and the affray more the result of accident than design.

most forbearing race. The remonstrances of the men for the treatment of their women met with equal injustice. No adequate returns for the great quantity of food consumed were made. It was given at first as a tribute to their newly returned god, and ever after expected on the same terms. Yet all these aggravations did not arouse the spirit of the people to resistance; not even the contempt so openly cast upon their religion and temple, until the greatest of insults was shown, in attempting to imprison their king, and to carry him off from amid his own court and subjects, in utter violation of all justice;—a step which, if it had succeeded, would not have been the best calculated to have promoted a hospitable reception for the next visitors. Even this might have been forgiven, had not a high chief, who was peaceably crossing the bay, ignorant of the cause for which the boats were stationed, been killed by the fire of one of them. At this wanton murder, the people could no longer restrain their passions, though Lono was, in their eyes, a god, and immortal.* All will unite in deploring a result which, from less causes, in a civilised community would have terminated quite as fatally; with savages, it is astonishing it did not sooner occur.

As soon as the news of the attack on Cook's party reached the other side of the bay, where were the observatory and the spars and sails of the Resolution, the natives in the vicinity commenced an assault upon the small force stationed to defend them. After being repulsed, they agreed to a truce, in which all the property belonging to the ships was carried on

* A sledge from the North-west coast, left by Cook, was worshipped by those who continued to believe in his divinity; as were his ribs and breast-bone, which were deposited in a temple dedicated to Lono, on the east side of the island. They were annually carried in procession to several other temples, or borne around the island to collect offerings for the support of the priests of Lono. Some expected Lono would reappear. These bones were preserved in a small wicker basket, covered over with red feathers. Their fate has never been ascertained. It is supposed they were hid, upon the abolition of idolatry, in some cave. Liholiho is said to have carried a portion of them to England, and to have presented one of the sad relics to the widow of Cook.

board. "Such was the condition of the ships, and the state of discipline, that Captain King feared for the result, if a vigorous attack had been made during the night."—Vol. iii. p. 59.

All reverence for Lono being now terminated, the natives appeared in their true character. They endeavoured to allure small parties ashore, and insulted the comrades of the slain with the most contemptuous looks and gestures; at the same time displaying their clothes and arms in insolent triumph. A breastwork was also erected on the beach, and the women sent inland. However, intercourse was re-established, with the design of obtaining restitution of the corpse of Cook, and the cutter. Several natives came off from time to time to the ships, declaring their innocence, and informing the commander, Clerke, of the warlike preparations ashore. Two individuals, on the night of the 15th, brought off a portion of the flesh of Captain Cook, weighing nine or ten pounds. The remainder, they said, had been burnt, and the bones were in possession of the chiefs. The next day additional insults were received, and a man, wearing Cook's hat, had the audacity to approach the ships, and throw stones, in bravado. The crews not being in a temper for further forbearance, with the permission of their commander, fired some of the great guns, at the natives on shore. The islanders had previously put themselves under cover, so that not much damage was done. A few were killed, and Kamehameha wounded slightly, by a blow received from a stone, which had been struck by one of the balls.

On the 17th, the boats were sent ashore, strongly manned, to water; but the annoyance experienced from the natives was so great, that the work proceeded slowly, although under the fire of the heavy guns from the ships. In all their attacks, the islanders displayed desperate bravery. Orders were at last given to fire some houses, in doing which the whole village, with the property of the friendly priests, were consumed. The sailors, imitating the revengeful passions of their opponents, perpetrated many cruelties. A man, at-

tended by a dozen or more boys, bearing the usual insignia of peace, approached, and was fired upon. This did not stop them; and when they reached the commanding officer, the herald was found to be the priest who had performed the services at the consecration of Captain Cook, and who had always showed himself a friend. He came to expostulate on the ingratitude of the treatment he and his brethren had received. The men who had brought off the remains of Cook had assured them, from the captains of the ships, that their property and persons should be respected. Relying upon this pledge, they had not, with the other inhabitants, removed their effects to a place of security, and, from trusting to their promises, had lost their all. The narrative does not state that he had received any satisfaction from those for whom he had exerted himself so much.

While the hostilities were continued between the two parties, numbers of women remained cheerfully on board the ships, exhibiting not the slightest emotion at the heads of their countrymen which were brought off, or concern for their relatives ashore. While the village was burning, they exclaimed, "A very fine sight!"—a fact which powerfully illustrates the deep degradation of their sex, which could thus find amusement in the sufferings of their fellows.

On the evening of the 18th, messengers were sent to sue for peace: they carried with them the usual presents, which were received with the assurance that it would be granted, when the remains of Cook were restored. From them it was learned, that all the bodies of the marines who fell, had been burnt, except the limb-bones, which were distributed among the inferior chiefs. The hair of Captain Cook was in the possession of Kamehameha.

After dark, provisions were sent to the ships, with which were two large presents from the much-injured but forgiving priest. As peace was now considered declared, the natives ceased all hostilities, and mingled freely with the whites, who, however, remained closely upon guard.

All of the bones of Captain Cook that could then be recovered, were brought on board the next day, neatly wrapped in fine tapa, ornamented with black and white feathers. Presents accompanied them. On the 21st, his gun, shoes, and some other trifles, were brought by one of the high chiefs, who represented Kalaniopuu and Kamehameha as desirous of peace. He informed the commanders that six of the chiefs, some of whom were their best friends, had been killed. A difference of opinion prevailed among the natives as to the expediency of continuing hostile measures; but peace was finally agreed upon.

The remains, which had been with so much difficulty procured, were committed to the deep on the 21st, with military honours. During this scene, the bay was deserted by the natives; but the succeeding day, on the assurance that all ill-will was then buried, many visited the ships, and others sent presents of eatables. That evening the ships sailed.

On the 27th, they touched at Oahu, and a party landed on the northwest side; but meeting only a few inhabitants they sailed immediately for Kauai, and came to anchor off Waimea, in their old station, March 1st.

Here their welcome was by no means cordial. The disease which they had introduced, had occasioned many deaths and much suffering. The island presented the usual spectacle of savage contention and warfare. The goats which had been left by Cook, as a gift, which might eventually have proved serviceable to the inhabitants, had increased to six, but had become a source of contention between Keawe and Kaneonea. Both parties maintained their claims by force, and a battle had been fought, in which Kaneonea was worsted. A misfortune among barbarians is more likely to beget enemies than friends, as the unfortunate chief soon experienced. The goats were destroyed, but not with them the disagreement, of which they had proved the innocent cause. Keawe having allied himself to another powerful chief, aspired to the sole sovereignty.

Cook being dead, the ships experienced such trouble as has commonly been received from the South Sea islanders, when no superstitious restraint, or knowledge of the superior power of the white race, existed. This was greatly aggravated by the absence of the principal chiefs. The men employed in watering were annoyed by crowds of natives, who pressed rudely upon them, and finally endeavoured to wrench the muskets of the soldiers from their hands. They would not suffer the watering to proceed, unless a great price was given; demanding a hatchet for every cask of water. Neither had they forgotten their old trade. While some amused themselves by tripping up the sailors, pulling them backward by their clothes, and like vexatious tricks, others stole their hats, buckets, and one seized Captain King's cutlass from his side, and made his escape. Gaining courage by the impunity with which they had thus far proceeded, they made more daring demonstrations. The casks, however, were filled, secured in the pinnace, and all embarked, excepting King and two others, when a shower of stones compelled them hastily to follow. The marines in the boat then fired two muskets, which wounded one man severely. This enraged the natives, and they prepared for a fresh attack; but the authority of some chiefs who made their appearance, drove them back.

No further disturbance was experienced. The chiefs of Keawe's party paid Captain Clerke a visit, and made him several curious and valuable presents, among which were fish-hooks, made from the bones of Kalaniopuu's father, who had been killed in an unsuccessful attempt to subdue Oahu. A piece of iron which had been taken from a timber that had recently floated ashore, was also brought. It had been fashioned into a dagger.

March 8th, the ships stood over to Niihau, and remained at anchor there four days; whence they made their final departure.

CHAPTER VI.

1779—Unfavourable opinion entertained of the islanders in consequence of the death of Cook—Death of Kalaniopuu—War of succession—Victories of Kamehameha—King of Maui succours Keoua—Kamehameha conquers Maui, Lani, and Molokai—Account of Kiana—Arrival of Captains Portlock and Dixon—Trade opened—Meares's visit—Kiana goes to China—General trade—La Pérouse visits Maui, 1786—Remarkable destruction of an army—Keoua conquered—assassinated—Maui, Lani, and Molokai rebel—Arrival of the Eleanora—Metcalf—Capture of his boat and murder of a sailor—Metcalf's bloody revenge—Metcalf's son murdered at Hawaii—Fair American captured—John Young and Isaac Davis made prisoners—Difficulties between traders and the islanders—Kamehameha's indignation at the capture of Fair American—Treatment of prisoners—Kiana's ambitious views—Attempts on vessels—Vancouver's arrival—First notice of Kaumualii, prince of Kauai—Origin of sandal-wood traffic—Dædalus arrives at Oahu—Massacre of Lieutenant Hergest and Mr. Gooch—Avarice of chiefs—Trade—Kamehameha's intercourse with Vancouver—His character—Kaahumanu, the queen—Princely hospitality of Kamehameha—Jealousy of other chiefs—Cattle first introduced at Hawaii—Discipline of ships—Orders of the king—Widow of Kalaniopuu—Sham battle—Present to King George III.—Transactions at Maui—Attempt to restore peace—Murderers executed at Oahu—Large canoe—Festival at Makahiki—Law of retaliation—Benevolent efforts of Vancouver—Theatrical entertainments—Cession of Hawaii—Departure of Vancouver—Expected return—1794.

The news of the disastrous events recorded in the last chapter, produced an unfavourable impression in Europe and America of the character of the islanders. Without fully comprehending the causes, they were judged to be a cruel race, and disposed to commit atrocities upon ships. In consequence, for a number of years none ventured to touch at their shores. The aged Kalaniopuu died at Kau, Hawaii, in 1780, and was succeeded by Kiwalao, his son. The Hilo chiefs being anxious to obtain the district of Kona, on the east side of Hawaii, on account of the calmness of the bordering sea, which made it a better fishing-ground, endeavoured to excite their new ruler to wrest it from Kamehameha, to whom it rightfully belonged. Having succeeded in arousing

his covetous spirit, it was determined that it should be done treacherously. Under the guise of paying funeral honours to his deceased father, a number of warriors were assembled, who, taking the corpse of Kalaniopuu with them, embarked in a war-canoe for Kona. On their way, Keeaumoku, a tried chieftain, and partisan of Kamehameha, met them, and going on board, joined in the wail for the dead. From the appearance of the chiefs and men, his suspicions were aroused ; and he inquired where it was their intention to inter the body. They replied, at Kailua, the chief town of Kona. From this answer, he suspected they designed surprising that place.

Off Honaunau, the place of sepulture of the ancient kings of Hawaii, they were overtaken by a violent rain-squall, which obliged them to land : the body was there deposited in its ancestral tomb. Kiwalao and his followers remained to concert further measures, as it was their intention to conquer and apportion all Hawaii among themselves. In the meantime, information of their arrival and plans had been conveyed to Kamehameha, who immediately advanced to the camp of Kiwalao, where, in an interview, the two became apparently reconciled. Kiwalao endeavoured to satisfy the rapacity of his chiefs by dividing his territories among them. Keoua, his uncle, not receiving a share in proportion to his desires, became enraged, and marched off with his retainers, with the determination to war and plunder. Entering the territories of Kamehameha, they committed considerable devastation, by cutting down cocoa-nut trees. In a skirmish, several were killed on each side. Kiwalao, seduced by this slight success, joined Keoua, with all his forces, and a general engagement took place at Keei, between the two rivals for Hawaii, which was continued for eight days, with no decided advantage to either party. Kamehameha being next in rank and influence to Kiwalao, the whole island fell to him upon the death of his cousin ; consequently, the struggle was obstinate and bloody. Keeaumoku, the chief who had discovered the designs of Kiwalao to Kamehameha, was seized by two of the warriors

of the former, and badly wounded. One smote him with a spear, and the other with a dagger; both exclaiming, in derision, "The weapon strikes the yellow-back crab!" The anxiety of his enemies to secure, as a trophy, a highly-valued ornament made of a whale's tooth, which he wore about his neck, preserved his life. Before they were able to secure it, succour arrived. Kamehameha, seeing the danger of his favourite warrior, rallied the boldest of his troops, and furiously charged the foe. In the *mêlée* Kiwalao was knocked down by a stone. Keeaumoku, enabled to rise, and maddened by his wounds, rushed upon the fallen king, and with a shark's-teeth sword despatched him. The fate of their leader so dispirited his followers, that they were entirely routed. Some fled to the place of refuge at Honaunau, others to the mountains, or sought safety by flight in canoes. Kamehameha was left master of the field, and lord of Hawaii.

Further opposition awaited him. Keoua and Keawemauhili, the principal instigators of the past war, fled to the mountains. The former obtained possession of Kau; and the latter, the fine districts of Hilo and Puna. Three districts only remained loyal to Kamehameha. The rebel chiefs, however, were disturbed in their own domains by commotions excited by dissatisfied subjects; one of whom, being unsuccessful, went over, with all his retainers, to Kamehameha, and by his persuasions induced him to renew the war. An engagement, which, from the obstinacy with which it was fought, received the name of Kauaawa, (bitter contest,) took place on a mountain in Kau. Neither party were able to claim the victory. Kamehameha actively followed up the contest, and marched upon Hilo, where in a skirmish he received a blow on his forehead, from a paddle, which well-nigh terminated his career.

Kahikili, who had made himself master of Molokai Lanai, Oahu and Maui, and was allied to Kaeo, sovereign of Kauai, sent succour to the enemies of Kamehameha, who, in retaliation, made a descent upon Maui, about the year 1789, when

Kahikili was at Oahu. His son, a youth, encountered the invader at Wailuku, and was totally defeated. In this battle, Kamehameha displayed much skill in his arrangements. His active mind turned every mistake of his enemy to his own advantage, and seized upon the most favourable moments for a charge or retreat. His prodigious strength, for which he was remarkable, joined with a stout person, and great personal courage, which had already established for him a reputation for prowess throughout the group, availed his troops much. While his bodily exertions were not needed, he remained quiet, issuing his orders with coolness and sagacity: if the line of battle wavered, he rushed forward, shouting with his deep-toned voice, and heading his guards, led them to victory. The carnage was dreadful: the waters of Iao, a small stream, were dammed by the bodies of the routed foe, and the engagement was ever after known as the Kepaniwai, (stopping the water.) Kalanikupule, the prince, made his escape to Oahu.

While the war was thus prosecuted on Maui, Keoua quarrelled with his friend, the ruler of Hilo, and slew him. Infatuated by his growing power, he again ravaged Kamehameha's provinces, and was opposed by Kiana, one of his generals, a distinguished warrior of Kauai, who had been taken from that island by Captain Meares, in an English vessel, in 1787, and carried to Canton, where he attracted much attention by his shrewdness, elegance of form and demeanour. He was six feet five inches high, well proportioned, and of a handsome countenance. The following year he returned in the Iphigenia, Captain Douglass, and, afraid to land on Kauai, where, since his departure, his brother, influenced by a priest, had become inimical to him, he proceeded to Hawaii, and at the request of Kamehameha, settled there. This was in January, 1789. His active mind, and warlike disposition, with the store of European articles, including firearms and ammunition, which he possessed, made him a valuable acquisition; and, firmly to attach him to his interests,

Kamehameha conferred upon him high rank and extensive possessions.

Before tracing the conquests of Kamehameha further, it is necessary to record the arrival of the first ships since the demise of Cook. They reached Kealakeakua bay before the king left on his Maui expedition. By the natives they were called *Olo*, and were remarkable for bringing the first beads.* They were the King George, and Queen Charlotte, trading vessels from London, commanded by Captains Portlock and Dixon; the former of whom had made the last voyage with Captain Cook. On the 25th of May, 1786, they made Hawaii, and were soon surrounded by canoes, which brought off hogs and fruits, which were gladly exchanged for bits of iron. The next day they came to anchor, and were visited by a great number of natives, whose carriage was insolent and troublesome. No chief appeared to keep them in order, and the captains were obliged to drive them from the vessels. The character which the bay bore made them very cautious, and on the 27th, their fears had so far increased, that after firing several guns to frighten away the natives, they unmoored and made sail. Standing along the coast, they continued to traffic for swine and water; nails and buttons being given in exchange for calabashes of the latter.

June 1st, they anchored off the east end of Oahu, and supplied the natives with iron and trinkets. The islanders at this time appear to have been so well acquainted with the whites, as to manifest only a natural curiosity at what was novel. A party from the ships discovered Waikiki bay, which, from not being exposed to the violence of the trade winds, soon became the favourite anchoring-ground. Leaving Oahu, they again anchored at Waimea bay, Kauai, where they remained until the 13th.

No difficulty was experienced on either island: the natives had acquired a fondness for foreign articles, for which they gladly exchanged their own manufactures, with a fairness which

* Voyage round the World, by N. Portlock, 4to, London, 1789.

proves that they had begun to comprehend the old, though to them, new adage, "honesty is the best policy."

In the autumn, the same ships returned, and visited Hawaii and Maui, off which island a canoe with four men were picked up, when completely exhausted with fatigue, and must soon have perished. They were treated with great kindness, loaded with gifts, and sent ashore entirely recovered, to tell of the humanity of the white man.

The ships having arrived at Oahu, anchored in their former situation. Kahikili, the king, who was then a stout, well-made man, of fifty years of age, went on board, and made inquiries in regard to his rival of Hawaii; while they lay there he was hospitable and attentive. An old priest who came frequently on board, informed Captain Portlock that there was a plot brewing to cut off both vessels. As no other evidence of such a design transpired, it was either a false report or effectually checked by the vigilance constantly displayed by their crews and dread of fire-arms, the effect of which the king, at his request, had been shown. In December, they visited Kauai, and there met with Kiana, brother to Keao, the then chief ruler. Both showed them much kindness, and supplied them liberally with provisions.

In October, 1787, Captain Portlock again touched at Kauai, and his intercourse was as friendly as before. In his voyage he speaks feelingly of the oppression of the chiefs to the common people, of which he was a witness, and endeavoured to influence the former, though without success, to treat their inferiors more humanely. He relates instances of poor people having paddled in their canoes from long distances, and brought with them their whole disposable property, consisting of a pig, or some trifling articles of little value, which they exchanged for trinkets and bits of iron. That a chief, without fetching anything to barter himself, would lie in wait for them near the ships, and as soon as they had left the sides, he pounced upon them and rifled from them their

little store of hard earnings. This was submitted to without repining. It was the custom of the country.

In August, 1787,* Captain Meares, in the Nootka, arrived at the islands, and after experiencing a pleasant reception, took away with him Kiana, who was desirous of visiting Britain. Douglass, the partner of Meares, touched at several of the islands in the ship Iphigenia, many times in that and the two succeeding years. He saluted the chiefs with heavy guns; it being first done with seven at Kawaihae Bay, for Kamehameha, who was highly delighted with the novel honour. This chief endeavoured to procure a carpenter from him, and was successful in obtaining a swivel, some smaller fire-arms, and ammunition. In July, 1789, a number of chiefs at Hawaii conspired to seize the Iphigenia, but the friendly Kiana, her late passenger, disclosed the plot. Kamehameha asserted his innocence of the design, though in the risings of his ambition, before his plans were matured and his policy formed, the temptation to make himself master of a foreign ship may have been awakened. But no such idea was ever manifested; his sagacious mind early perceived the greater advantages to be derived from securing the friendship of his commercial visitors.

About this period numerous vessels, mostly English and American, visited the islands, and commenced a trade, which has ever since been actively pursued. Several of them, among which was the Lady Washington, were fitted out by the merchants of Boston, in 1785. Their reception varied according to the whims or policy of the contending chiefs. None were much molested, though some were annoyed by theft and the vexatious tricks of the natives. Prices varied according to the caprice of the rulers. The more important articles of warfare were in demand, and abundantly supplied by thoughtless traders, who in some cases found them turned upon themselves. A taste for ardent spirits, which at first

* Meares's Voyages, 2 vols. London, 1790.

were exceedingly offensive, was gradually excited among the chiefs. Interest annually carried more vessels to their shores, and the same motive impelled a more judicious treatment of their visitors.

The much-lamented La Perouse came to anchor, with his exploring frigates, at the leeward side of Maui, near the present town of Lahaina, on the 28th of May, 1786; a few days only after Portlock and Dixon reached Hawaii. He speaks favourably of the kind disposition of the inhabitants, and attributes the shrewdness manifested in their petty barter to former communications with the Spaniards. Frenchmen were the first Europeans of modern times who landed at Maui. Their stay was limited to two days, in which their intercourse with the inhabitants was very slight.

While the true state and value of this group was becoming extensively known by these visits, and an interest in them gradually awakened, which led to a more extended intercourse, the wars of supremacy among the rival chiefs were vigorously prosecuted; and from the possession of fire-arms, became more bloody, but sooner decided.

During the contest which Kiana sustained against Keoua, while his chief was on Maui, a most singular interposition of a natural phenomenon enabled him to triumph over his active opponent. At that period it had a great effect over the minds of the natives, who, from that moment, considered their goddess Pele a favourer of the rising fortunes of Kamehameha. The army of Keoua had separated into three divisions, marching at some distance from each other, and were descending from the volcano by three distinct paths, not greatly apart, and which ran parallel with each other. They led towards the habitable portion of Kau. The first division, or vanguard, had not far advanced, when a heavy earthquake and eruption from the volcano took place. The ground shook so violently as to render it impossible either to stand still or proceed; they reeled to and fro like drunken men. The noise accompanying this motion was awful, and far

exceeded thunder in loudness. The sky, which had been unclouded, was filled with a shower of cinders and ashes, extending for many miles around. Owing to the height to which they were first cast by the action of the crater, they cooled in their descent, and did no injury, though a strong sulphureous gas was evolved, which produced a suffocating sensation in the party exposed. However, they escaped with only a severe fright, and as soon as practicable hurried from the spot.

The rear party experienced a similar motion, accompanied by the like noises and showers, which quickly passed over. They then hastened to rejoin their comrades, but were met by a sight that appalled the stoutest heart. The central division lay stiffened in death; but so natural were the positions of many, that they did not discover that life was extinct until they had closely examined them. Some were lying in apparent slumber, while others were sitting upright, with their wives and children firmly locked in their embrace, and noses pressed together, as in the act of salutation. Out of four hundred human beings not one was alive. A hog, which belonged to one of the families, was quietly rooting about them. It alone had been able to resist the sulphureous vapour, which, like the touch of the angel of death, had carried instantaneous destruction in its path. The corpses remained in that condition, uncorrupted and unchanged, for many days. The flesh finally dropped from the bones, which were left to bleach beneath a burning sun, or be buried by fresh actions of the volcano.

Kamehameha having returned from Molokai (1791), joined forces with Kiana, and easily routed the army of Keoua, dispirited by so sad an event. Their leader was driven for shelter into the farther part of Kau, and there remained a fugitive, until, having become wearied of his erratic life, he determined to surrender himself to the clemency of the conqueror. Accordingly, he went to the seaside, passing, with the permission of Kiana, through his camp, receiving much

attention from the people, some of whom foreboded his fate, and embarked with his most faithful followers and their effects for Kawaihae bay, where Kamehameha was encamped. The energy and ambition of Keoua having been prolific sources of trouble to him, that chief determined to rid himself of one who had proved so valiant a competitor, and whose claims to the supreme power, from relationship to Kiwalao, would always be adverse to his own. Accordingly, secret instructions were issued to Keaaumoku, who, having enticed Keoua to the land, assassinated him as he stepped from his canoe. Seven of his friends shared the same fate. His body was then taken to the neighbouring heiau, and offered in sacrifice. This occurred in 1793. Some say that he was treacherously slain, against the wishes of Kamehameha; but as it was done in his presence, the statement is improbable. The whole island of Hawaii was now his by conquest; but his successes here were counterbalanced by reverses elsewhere. Maui, Lanai, and Molokai, which had been but partially subdued, threw off the yoke, and again acknowledged Kahikili as their liege lord.

In the autumn of 1789, the American snow Eleanor, commanded by a man of the name of Metcalf*, arrived at Hawaii, and remained there trading during most of the succeeding winter. In the month of February, 1790, she anchored at Honuaula, Maui. Two of the chiefs of a neighbouring place called Oloalu, having heard of her arrival, went to Honuaula, and, in the night, stole her boat, which was moored under her stern. A watchman was in it, but had fallen asleep. So adroit were they, that he did not awake until they were near the shore. He then attempted to give the alarm, but was not heard; before he could cry out again one of the thieves killed him. The boat was taken ashore and broken up for the sake of the iron, which was manufactured into awls and fish-hooks. The chiefs returned to

* Vancouver's Voyages, 2d vol. London, 1798. Also, Ka Moolelo Hawaii, Lahainaluna, 1838.

their own village, and, for a while, Honuaula was made to bear the brunt of a revengeful attack. One man was killed, and two made prisoners; one of whom being from Oloalu, gave information of the real criminals. Metcalf weighed anchor and proceeded thither. At the time of his arrival a tabu existed, which prevented any individual from putting off in a canoe under pain of being burnt to death. The bones of the murdered seaman and the remains of the boat, for which a reward was offered, had been delivered up; and the natives supposing the anger of the captain appeased by the attack he had already made, innocently asked for the promised reward. This he said they should have. As soon as the tabu was annulled, multitudes of people from all parts of the island flocked to the ship to trade. They were all ordered to lie with their canoes on the starboard side, which they did, not perceiving the means preparing for their destruction. If any lay off the bows or stern, they were pelted with stones until they took the prescribed situation. The ports, which had been closed, were then hauled up, and the battery, charged with musket-balls and nails, and depressed to bear into the thickest of the fleet, run out and fired among them. Metcalf stood in the gangway to witness the awful effect, and directed the volleys of musketry and small arms which were poured in to complete the destruction. One hundred individuals were said to have been killed outright, and vast numbers wounded. The natives dragged for their bodies with fish-hooks, and collected the mangled masses upon the beach, where, to use their own expression, "their brains flowed out of their broken skulls."

After this horrible massacre of innocent wretches, the more aggravated, as consummated by a treachery such as only the worst of savages would have gloried in, Metcalf sailed the same day for Hawaii; where, owing to the hostility which existed between the two islands, he was well received. An awful retribution awaited him.

In connexion with the Eleanor was a small schooner of

twenty-six tons, a tender, manned with only five seamen, and commanded by Metcalf's son, a lad of eighteen years of age. This vessel arrived off Kawaihae bay, in March, but did not fall in with her mate, which was then a little farther to the westward. Kameeiamoku, a high chief, who, for some trifling cause, had received a flogging from the elder Metcalf, while on board of his vessel, had resolved to revenge the insult upon the first whites that came within his reach. The smallness of the schooner, and the inexperience of her commander, afforded too favourable an opportunity to be overlooked; without the powerful motive which actuated his mind, she would have proved an almost irresistible temptation to the cupidity of savages, when away from her consort. Accordingly, with a number of his people, he boarded her, and carried many presents; while the attention of the youth and crew were occupied in receiving them, and in hearing news of his father, the savages pressed on board. Suddenly, the chief seized young Metcalf and threw him overboard, where he soon perished. All the others were massacred, excepting one, (Isaac Davis,) who, after having been handled with the greatest inhumanity, until they were wearied with their cruelties, was spared by one of the party, who bound up his wounds. He was then taken ashore, and kindly treated. The schooner was stranded and plundered.

John Young, boatswain of the Eleanor, on the 17th, had gone ashore; but to his surprise, upon attempting to leave, he was forbidden by Kamehameha, and in the evening learnt of the capture of the schooner. The snow remained two days off Kealakeakua bay, firing guns for Young to return. This, the king, after he heard of the massacre, would not permit, nor would he allow a canoe to go alongside, lest Metcalf should revenge himself, as at Maui; consequently, he sailed without hearing of his loss.

It is painful to record the depravity of untutored heathen: how much more the vile passions of a civilised being, whose outward form marks him for a man, while his actions prove

him a devil! For the credit of humanity, such cases, in comparison with justice and benevolence toward the South Sea Islanders, are rare; and in the annals of Hawaii, the foul deed of Metcalf stands alone amid a host of opposite, though varied character. The provocation was great; but nothing could authorize so flagrant an outrage. Judicious punishment of savages, as of children, seldom fails to beget better conduct; but if dealt in blind anger, nourishes passions more deadly than those which it seeks to restrain.

While a general warfare raged through the group, and individual chieftains sought to add to their power by gaining possession of the more destructive weapons of the whites, it is to be supposed that serious misunderstandings would often arise. From the known treachery and avarice of savages, it cannot be doubted that the provocations usually originated with them. A few of the foreign commanders were men of little or no principle; the discipline preserved on board their vessels corrupted their own crews, and excited the cupidity and dislike of the natives. Disturbances arose in consequence, and the captains seeking justice, and oftener mere retaliation, for real or fancied wrongs, too frequently, without due inquiry, vented their rage in deeds scarcely inferior, in wanton barbarity, or abuse of power and confidence, to the customs of the savages themselves. Men there were of that day, and the race is not altogether extinct, whose characters could be resolved into two principles, lust and gain. To accomplish their desires, no action was too base or cruel. Such may be properly termed pirates; for their selfishness spared neither friend nor foe; the useful servant or profitable ally; all were equally their prey.

The tales of the natives themselves, of injuries done them, when not well authenticated, are to be received with limitation. In the few years ensuing between Portlock's visit and Kamehameha's complete ascendancy, some cases occurred where commanders of vessels fired upon the natives; or, acting upon the exigencies of the time, thoughtlessly did deeds

which in their better moments would have been scorned. Compared with the treacherous attempts of the savages, they were few; the rapid growth of trade, and the general and increasing good-will that prevailed, is sufficient evidence that the islanders appreciated the value of foreign commerce.

The two prisoners, Young and Davis, though rude and ignorant seamen, in moral education and religious knowledge, were far in advance of the most enlightened of those who held them in bondage. At first, involuntary pioneers of better things; finally endeared, by kindness and gratitude, to their new homes, Kamehameha found in them tried and faithful servants, who more than repaid his protection; and the oppressed serf ever had reason to bless the humane influence they exerted on the mind of their arbitrary master. Equal consideration is due to them from their own countrymen, and the mariners of other nations, who traded to their shores. They both rose to be chiefs of consequence, possessing to the last the confidence of high and low; and their history, particularly that of Young, will be found to be closely interwoven with that of their royal guardian. There were other white men on the islands at this time, runaways from ships, but mostly of bad characters; their influence, however, greatly modified by the superior address and intelligence of these prisoners, and by the comparison which the natives necessarily drew between the two, which gave them their first definite notions of goodness.

Kamehameha was highly indignant at the outrage committed by Kameeimoku. Though the dominant chief, his authority was not sufficiently established to authorize him to punish this violation of his policy. He rebuked him severely, and took possession of the schooner, which he caused to be hauled up and carefully preserved, to be returned to her owner, should he reappear. Isaac Davis was immediately provided for, and treated with a degree of attention, which fully proved the sincerity of his sentiments. While reprimanding Kameeimoku, he is said to have shed tears.

The two seamen were immediately taken into the confidence of their patron; and, both from him and other high chiefs, received valuable presents of estates on the sea-side. They made themselves so beloved, that popular opinion would not have permitted their departure, had the king been inclined to let them go. They were carefully guarded, whenever a vessel appeared in sight, and never suffered to go afloat; and if any one had been detected in carrying any correspondence for them on board a vessel, he would have been put to death: one was held responsible for the other; and their mutual fidelity deserves high praise. They made a joint attempt to escape to Captain Colnett's ship; and had it not been for the active exertions of Kamehameha, who vigorously defended them, their lives would have been forfeited. After this they became more contented in their new relations. Kiana, who had lately become ambitious and turbulent, and had lost all sense of gratitude for the favours he had received from the whites, was their enemy, and conspired to take their lives. But the friendship of the other chiefs rendered the plot abortive. The attentions which he had received abroad had given him a great opinion of his own consequence; possessing a stock of fire-arms and ammunition, he had been desirous of seizing upon any traders that might come within his reach. Had Kamehameha coincided with his views, all trade would have been ruined, and the Hawaiians borne the reproach of being pirates. But his plans were constantly overruled by the greater influence of his superior, and his counsellors. In one instance it was almost decided to attempt the capture of the Spanish sloop, Princess Royal. The chief argument used for its legality was, that she had been captured from the English; consequently, there could be no harm in their taking her from the Spaniards: a sophism very agreeable to their covetous dispositions, and which met with little opposition. The pacific policy carried the point, however, even against so cogent a reason.

Before Captain Metcalf sailed for Maui in 1789, Kiana

nearly accomplished the capture of the Eleanor. It was proposed to the king by his party, to seize the snow, and put to death all of her crew, except a few who should be reserved to navigate the vessel. By so powerful an addition to his navy, the conquest of the other islands would be made sure. The plan was to seize the opportunity when the crew laid aloft to loose the sails; those on deck were to be murdered, and the remainder kept in the rigging, until possession of the vessel had been secured. The project, though so much in accordance with his ambition, was rejected with indignation. Notwithstanding the opposition of their sovereign, the chiefs determined upon the attempt, and went on board for that purpose. News of their assembling having been conveyed to Kamehameha, he hurried off, and ordered them out of the vessel. Fearing that he would disclose the plot to Captain Metcalf, they obeyed, and the ship sailed without the divulgement of the design. The safety of many vessels, and the lives of their crews about this period, were owing to the active interference of Kamehameha, and intercourse was continued in ignorance of the dangers to which they had been exposed.

Vancouver, after Cook, the most celebrated of modern English voyagers, arrived at Kealakeakua bay, March 3d, 1792. As his visits exercised so powerful and lasting an influence upon the islanders, it will be necessary to enter into their details. He had with him two surveying vessels, the Discovery and the Chatham. Kiana came on board, and from the favorable opinions expressed of him in Meares's voyages, was received with courtesy and attention. One of his first acts was to exaggerate his own importance, and misrepresent that of the king, with whom he stated that he equally shared the government. On his departure he was saluted with four guns, but was chagrined at not being able to add to his stock of foreign weapons. In the evening a canoe came alongside with a young native, who spoke English tolerably well. He had been to the United States, with Captain Ingraham of

Boston, and had recently returned. His name was Lehua, and he proved of service as an interpreter. As Vancouver sailed slowly along the coast he was visited by several chiefs, to whom he gave garden-seeds, and other productions likely to become serviceable.

On the 7th of March, he anchored at Waikiki bay, Oahu, and was visited by many of the natives. The knowledge of the character of the vessels having spread abroad, those who went ashore were treated with a coolness which augured great indifference to visitors who came not for purposes of trade. On the 9th the ships came to anchor at Waimea, Kauai. Their reception here was neither hearty nor friendly. Gain was the all-impelling motives of the inhabitants; and as it was not to be acquired to the extent of their desires by trade, they endeavoured to excite the sensual desires of the crews by a display of gross wantonness, which tended rather to disgust than please.

Kaumualii, (the eldest son of Keao, who was then at Maui,) a boy of twelve years of age, visited the ships, and from his affability and cheerfulness created a favorable impression. The features of the young prince were expressive of vivacity and intelligence, and his inquiries and observations were considered as uncommon for a lad of his years. His conduct was indicative of a desire to please and to acquire information. But before either he or his guardian would venture on board, hostages were demanded for their safe return; and in all their transactions, an honesty of purpose manifested, with a discreet caution, which showed that the principles of trade had become well understood. A number of whites resided on the island, who made themselves useful to both parties.

The depopulation throughout the group, caused by the constant internal dissensions since Vancouver's first visit in 1778, struck him painfully. The town of Waimea had been reduced two-thirds, and of all the chiefs then living, with whom he had been intimately acquainted, Kamehameha alone survived.

At this time attention was first drawn toward sandal-wood, as an article of export. Two men had been left from a Boston brig, by Captain Kendrick,* on Kauai, to contract for several cargoes, and also to gather pearls; but it was not until many years afterward that the former was made an important branch of trade.

On the 11th of May, the same year, the Dædalus, an English national store-ship, appeared on the north side of Oahu. The natives here, unaccustomed to the sight, greeted her appearance with many exclamations of affright and surprise. Some ran inland, and reported that "coral rocks were floating thither:" others vociferated, "prodigious, prodigious!" The vessel lay off Waimea, while a party went ashore to procure water. It being brackish near the sea-side, they were obliged to roll the casks some distance up the stream, where it was pure. Having filled them, they made preparations to return, when a dispute arose between the seamen and natives, which terminated in the death of a Portuguese sailor. Lieut. Hergest, the commander of the shore expedition, with Mr. Gouch, the astronomer, unaware of the difficulty, had incautiously wandered from the party, and were surrounded by many of the islanders, who, hearing of the affray, immediately attacked these gentlemen. The further account of this melancholy affair, I give literally from the native historian, by which it will be seen that, from their own confession, it was a wanton murder.

"Kapaleiuku cast a stone against the chin of one of the foreigners, which knocked him down. When the natives on the other bank saw that one had fallen, they came to join in the fray. The white man cried out with the pain inflicted, on which the natives said—'They cry, indeed—they are men

* Robert Greenhow, Esq., in his valuable Memoir on the North-West Coast of North America, published in 1840, erroneously states that Kendrick was killed by the natives of Hawaii. His death was occasioned from a salute fired in his honour at Kealakeakua Bay, by an English captain, in 1793. A portion of the grape-shot of one of the guns, which had been accidentally left, entered a port near which he was standing in his own vessel, and mortally wounded him.

perhaps,—we thought them gods, their eyes were so bright.' One remonstrated, 'Be not in haste to kill the god Lonoikaoualii,—for great Lono having been slain at Hawaii, this one remained, the great and powerful Pekeku this—he is a god.' This remonstrance was vain. The company in the boat returned and obtained their guns, and lay upon their oars. Those on board the vessel perceiving that some of their number had been slain, worked the vessel inland and fired on shore. The natives exclaimed, 'What is this whizzing?' One replied, 'Don't you know it is burning sand (powder)—a deadly thing? it will burn perhaps this day and destroy our land. Perhaps we shall escape, inasmuch as we have killed the two gods—had they lived among us, we had all been dead men!' The firing continued till evening, when the vessel took her departure."

The perpetrators of this cruel act were a lawless band, owing allegiance to no particular chief. The kings of the several islands being so much occupied with their wars of conquest, paid little attention to the affairs of the distant portions of their kingdoms, consequently a general license prevailed; and petty squabbles, robberies, and murders, were of frequent occurrence.

Vancouver returned from the North-west coast of America, and anchored off Kawaihae, Hawaii, Feb. 14, 1793. A tabu then existed, by which the inhabitants were restricted from trading with any vessels, except for arms and ammunition. Through his firmness in refusing to purchase supplies with these articles, the tabu was remitted. Religious tabus were now of frequent occurrence, lasting for periods of several days each, during which, as in the holidays of the Romish Church, no business could be transacted. However, when the inconvenience attending them was great, the highest chiefs exercised an authority similar to the Pope's, and granted dispensations for their own benefit and that of their favorites. On the 19th, with the assistance of Kalaimoku, one of Kamehameha's chief counsellors, he landed a bull and

cow, which were all that remained of several cattle, which he had brought from California, with the benevolent design of introducing the breed of these valuable animals. The cow died soon after landing. The opposition which Kalaimoku made to aiding him in the landing, though he well knew they were a gift which would largely benefit the islanders, forcibly illustrates the avaricious spirit which pervaded all classes, and to which Kamehameha alone was superior. He objected to granting the use of his canoe, which was large and commodious, until a sufficient bribe was offered him; and this was subsequent to receiving presents suitable to his rank.

So greatly had trade increased, and the desire of the useful superseded the passion for ornaments, that trinkets no longer were of value, unless they were of a novel description. Woollen cloth, printed cottons and linen, hardware, and the staple articles of traffic, were alone in great demand. The islanders suffered in some instances from the shameless deception of the civilized trader, who deceived them in the quantity and quality of goods. Muskets were sold, which burst upon the first fire, and often produced dangerous wounds. But these vile practices recoiled upon the heads of the offenders, for the natives soon learned to appreciate an honest man, and to distinguish the good article from the bad, and were not long in becoming as keen in their mercantile transactions as the shrewdest of their teachers. Vancouver also speaks in terms of just reprobation of some of their visitors, who after being supplied with provisions by the chiefs, departed without returning anything.*

* The traffic of the islands, at this period, was confined mostly to the purchasing of supplies, for which object vessels of the principal maritime nations frequented them, but particularly those of the United States, engaged in the fur trade on the North-west coast of America, and the Canton business; of which many interesting particulars will be found in Greenhow's memoir of the Oregon. The most noted of these were the Hope, Captain Ingraham, the Eleanor, and Hancock; of the English, besides those already mentioned, the Princess Royal, and Argonaut, under the direction of Captain Colnett. The islanders were frequently employed as seamen, and for other purposes on shipboard, in which they gave general satisfaction, and have ever since maintained their reputation for fidelity, good nature, and as ordinary seamen.

While cruising slowly along the western side of Hawaii, Kamehameha came off to the Discovery, bringing Young with him. Vancouver was agreeably disappointed in the change which a few years had made in the countenance of this celebrated warrior. The savage look which Captain King ascribed to him, had lost much of its expression of stern ferocity, while it retained its natural dignity and firmness. His carriage was majestic, and every action told of a mind which, under any circumstances, would have distinguished its possessor. His eyes were dark and piercing; in the words of one who not long after was well acquainted with him, he seemed capable of penetrating the designs and reading the thoughts of those about him; before his glance the most courageous quailed. His general deportment was frank, cheerful, and generous. In form and stature an herculean savage; in abilities and character, a man that any country might have been proud to acknowledge as her son.

His sagacious mind seized upon every opportunity of improvement and aggrandizement. While the benevolent counsels of Vancouver could not repress the latter, they confirmed him in his peaceful and protecting policy toward foreigners. His bias, both from intellect and interest, lay toward them, and no other barbarian was more feared and respected by all classes, stranger or subject, than this wonderful man. Cook's narrative presented him as a dangerous savage, ambitious, brave, and resolute; Vancouver's intercourse showed him in the dawn of a ripened intellect, as possessing all the latter qualities, yet humane and hospitable. His character will be gradually pictured in the subsequent events of his active career; and the reader can then judge if this description does him justice.

Soon after his arrival on board, Kaahumanu, his favorite queen, with several of her relatives, followed him. This is the first notice we have of this woman, who afterwards proved herself a consort worthy of the greatest and best of her nation. She was then but sixteen, beautiful and pleasing.

The ship was soon crowded with well-behaved visitors of high rank, among whom presents were distributed, which gave much satisfaction. Kamehameha received a scarlet coat, gaily trimmed with gold lace, in which he promenaded the deck to the great admiration of his subjects.

February 22d, Vancouver anchored at Kealakeakua bay. Kamehameha immediately put off in great state. He was dressed in a printed linen gown, given by Cook to Kalaniopuu, over which a magnificent feather cloak was thrown, which trailed upon the ground. His head was surmounted by an elegant helmet. Eleven large canoes, arranged so as to form two sides of an obtuse angle, formed his squadron. The largest, in which he was, had eighteen paddles on each side, and headed the procession. It was a little in advance of the others, which followed its motions with the utmost precision, being guided by the orders of the king, who regulated the manœuvres with great skill. The fleet paddled around the vessel in a slow and solemn manner. The ten canoes were then ordered to form in a line under the stern, while his own was paddled, with the utmost exertions of the crew, to the starboard sides. When abreast of the gangway, notwithstanding the great speed with which it was shooting ahead, it was instantly stopped by a skilful back dip of the paddles.

Kamehameha then ascended the side, and taking hold of the hand of Vancouver, inquired if he were sincerely a friend, and if the king of Great Britain were amicably disposed. These questions being satisfactorily answered, he saluted him, by touching noses. Four helmets, of beautiful fabrication, were then presented, and the ten canoes ordered alongside. Each of them contained nine of the largest-sized swine, which, with a prodigious quantity of fruits and vegetables, brought by a fleet of smaller canoes, were deposited on the decks of both vessels. Although the quantity was more than could be used, nothing was allowed to be returned.

Five cows, with some sheep, were carried ashore as a pre-

sent to the king, who attended personally to their care. In addition to the princely gift he had already sent, he had prepared a large quantity of cloth, mats, and other articles of their manufacture, which, as there was not room on board for them, he ordered to be stored on shore, under the charge of a confidential man, who was made responsible for their final delivery.

The presentation of all the large cattle to Kamehameha created some jealousy among the other chiefs. Kiana came on board, and Kamehameha received him with a look of sullen gloom and austerity, which indicated the growing dissatisfaction between them. Both were equally ambitious. Kiana sought to obtain his ends by violence and bloodshed. In his former patron he had found a steady opponent, and neither could brook an equal; though, for the present, policy prevented an open rupture.

Kiana was civilly received, and a handsome present accepted, though it could not be received on board. Keaaumoku, the slayer of Keoua, who was present, was angered at this, as his present had been unconditionally declined. The king, who had sat silent, with considerable warmth declared that there was no occasion to accept the present of any other chief besides himself, as he was fully capable of supplying all their wants. Vancouver, anxious to conciliate all, determined to regulate his conduct to these jealous chiefs according to their rank; treating the inferior with due respect and attention, while he paid principal court to Kamehameha, as one who, if he did not then possess absolute authority, would soon secure it from his superior force and abilities.

The latter took Kiana to task for leaving his province without permission, but was soon appeased, and the usual cheerfulness restored.

As it was necessary to erect an observatory ashore, and in the intercourse which would necessarily ensue in a long visit, there would be temptations to pilfer, and difficulties might

arise from lack of discipline on one side, and the aggressions of evil-disposed natives on the other, enemies to his government, or retainers of chiefs over whom he had no positive control, Kamehameha desired that certain rules should be strictly observed. In promulging them, he seems to have had forcibly in his mind the sad results of the unrestrained license of Cook's crews, and the want of prudence and injudicious harshness of their commander. On the part of Vancouver, he urged that the strictest discipline should be observed; that no individuals should be permitted to infringe upon their sacred observances, or in any way violate their places of religion; that none should stray about the country; and none but the principal chiefs be allowed to visit the vessels. In the day time he would frequently come on board, and his presence would prevent any lawless conduct. If any of the whites desired to travel, he would be responsible for their safety, and would supply them with confidential attendants, who should provide for all their wants, and regulate their conduct that it might not unintentionally offend. Should any theft or irregularities be committed, he would see that the offenders were severely punished. Orders were issued to all subjects, requiring of them the strictest obedience to all the rules prescribing their intercourse with the whites. Vancouver, with a cordiality that reflects credit upon his judgment, heartily co-operated with their reasonable desires, and from the mutual respect of which may be reckoned the increase of good-will, which rendered the visit so beneficial, and the departure so sad to both.

Kamehameha soon had occasion to prove his sincerity, by restoring some goods stolen by women who had been permitted to sleep on board.

Kekupuohe, one of the widows of Kalaniopuu, visited Vancouver. It had been her fate to witness, in the wars that followed his death, the extirpation of almost all her race; and she was then in honourable captivity, supported according to her rank by the conqueror of her family: he had

once saved her life from the fury of some of his own revengeful relations, who, in a public commotion, had sought her destruction, and that of all her adherents.*

On the 4th of March, Kamehameha entertained the officers of the ships with a sham battle, between the best of his warriors, to the number of one hundred and fifty. They were divided into three parties, to represent the armies of his rivals Kahekili and Keao, and his own. Their spears were blunted, and as the parties approached, taunts, menaces, and vaunting speeches, were uttered on either side to excite fury. The battle commenced by a discharge of spears, and was continued without any regard to order, each individual

* She died at Kailua, in February, 1836, at a very advanced age, being upwards of ninety. In 1828 she joined the Protestant church, and, notwithstanding the feeble condition of her eyes, learned to read, and to her death was an indefatigable student of the Bible. She was buried in a cave at Kealakeakua. She was a poetess, even in the decline of life, and not long before her death composed a song, of which the following extract, translated by the Rev. H. Bingham, will give an idea of her powers of mind.

"Once only hath that appeared which is glorious,
It is wonderful, it is altogether holy;
It is a blooming glory; its nature is unwithering,
Rare is its stock, most singular, unrivalled,
One only true vine. It is the Lord," &c.

Another, composed in 1830, entitled, "A Melè on the Creation," exhibits much beauty, force and simplicity of diction.

"God breathed into the empty space,
And widely spread his power forth,
The spirit flying, hovered o'er;

His power grasped the moveable, it was fast,
The earth became embodied,
The islands also rose.

God made this wide-extended heaven,
He made the heavens long, long ago;
He dwelt alone, Jehovah by himself,
The Spirit with him.

He fixed the sun his place,
But the islands moved, moved the islands,
With sudden, noiseless, silent speed;
We see not his skilful work,
God is the great support that holds the earth."

Haw. Spect., vol. ii. p. 80.

advancing or retreating at his will. Some of the most expert defied the whole body of their adversaries, fending with the spear they held in their left hand those thrown at them, or catching them in their right, and launching them back upon their opponents. In this exercise none excelled the king; six spears were hurled at him at once; three he caught, two were parried, and the sixth nimbly avoided by a trifling inclination of his body.

This skirmish was succeeded by an engagement of a more military character, in which the chiefs bore a conspicuous part. Each was attended by a body-guard, armed with long sharp lances, or with barbed javelins. Their ranks were formed into corps or phalanxes. Both parties, previous to the fight, sat upon the ground, with their lances pointed at each other, while their leaders argued with much energy for war or peace. Not being able to agree upon the conditions of the latter, both parties arose, closed their ranks, and in serried columns slowly advanced. Their movements were made with much caution, each guarding with the greatest circumspection against any advantage which the other might seek; the wings were engaged with slings and other missiles, but the action depended upon the fate of one of the phalanxes. The ground was firmly disputed, and the mutual lunges warded with great dexterity. Some of Kahekili's troops fell; upon which the opposing party with shouts rushed impetuously forward, and in the charge broke through the opposing ranks, and gained the victory. Those who were supposed to be slain were dragged by the heels over the beach, to be presented to the king; thence to the heiau, where they underwent a feigned sacrifice.

Vancouver strenuously exerted himself to bring about peace between the Hawaiians and the inhabitants of the leeward islands. The chiefs of the former listened deferentially to his arguments, but they produced but little real impression upon their minds, bent upon conquest, and strengthened in their views by the very attentions he had paid them. In return,

they requested his assistance in bringing all the islands under their dominion, which was the true policy; for one effective government established over the group would effectually stop the hostilities which petty and independent chieftains ever wage with each other.

Kamehameha made another valuable present to Vancouver on the eve of his departure for the leeward, and as the most valuable article the island afforded, sent his own war-cloak, pierced with spear-holes, as a present to George III., with the injunction, that, as it had been worn by no other person but himself, it must honour no other shoulders than those of His Britannic Majesty. Vancouver presented him with many useful articles, among which were carpenters' and agricultural tools. Other chiefs also received abundant evidence of his liberal spirit. Kamehameha made a final attempt to procure some of the coveted fire-arms, by observing that his canoe, which had been fitted by the sailmaker with a full suit of canvas sails, would look better if she had a few swivels mounted. But the magic "Tabu King George," stopped all further hints.

On the 8th of March the vessels left for Maui, and anchored in Lahaina roads on the 12th. Here the intercourse was amicable, and in an interview with Kahekili, who was aged and infirm, and Keao, his arguments for peace produced more effect. They had been great losers in the contest; their dominions were almost in a state of anarchy, and Maui had been so ravaged that it was necessary to bring food from Oahu and Kauai for the support of their armies of observation, which were stationed on the east to repel the anticipated invasion. Their poverty prevented them from making the usual presents; but this did not hinder Vancouver from treating them with the consideration due their station. Keao produced a lock of his hair, which he had given him in token of amity while with Cook at Kauai. He was then a fine-looking young man, but the use of awa, as with most of the chiefs, had brought on premature decay.

These chiefs satisfied Vancouver of their innocence in regard to the murders at Oahu. By their orders, three men had already been executed; and they were disposed to do all that lay in their power to bring the remainder to condign punishment. Vancouver manifested a determination to chastise the guilty, with a proper discrimination of the innocent, which effectually convinced the natives that such deeds could not be done with impunity; that if the whites were the aggressors, they must suffer the consequences; and that impartial justice should be dealt to all. In his discourse with the leading men, he endeavoured to convince them of the distinction between the whites, governed by principles of honesty and humanity, and those reckless traders whose pecuniary interests were pursued regardless of the cost of blood and suffering to others. The evils which such men have aggravated among savage tribes are enough to make humanity weep, but should not blind us to the less conspicuous, but beneficial influence of others. Unfortunately, savage nature affords too fruitful a soil for the vices, sins, and diseases of civilisation; grafted upon their own, were it not for the remedies which so closely follow in their train, they would speedily depopulate the fairest country, and convert a blooming wilderness to a dreary waste.

Kalanikupule ruled over Oahu for his father. Upon the arrival of the vessels, three men were brought on board by his orders, and delivered up as those actively engaged in the death of Lieutenant Hergest, Mr. Gooch, and the seaman; with the request that they might be immediately executed. All possible care was evinced to ascertain the guilt of the prisoners; and though the evidence was not so complete as the importance of such a case demanded, yet the concurrent testimony of the natives themselves pointed them out as the real criminals. After commenting upon the enormity of the crime to the people, the evidence of their guilt, and the design of the punishment, they were delivered to their chiefs; one of whom, in the presence of a large concourse, having

placed them in a double canoe, a short distance from the vessel, blew their brains out with a pistol. Their sentence was executed at Waikiki, on the 22nd of March.* Some doubt has since existed as to these men being the real murderers; and it has been asserted that they were sacrificed by their chiefs to appease the anger of Vancouver, and that another man, who was really guilty, was afterwards shot at Honolulu by the mate of a vessel; the natives viewing the act with indifference, believing it to be just retaliation. Even if this be true, Vancouver must be exonerated from acting prematurely. The evidence against them was strong; and if there be criminality in their execution, it lies on the heads of their own countrymen, and shows a baseness which few would be willing to attribute even to savages.

Vancouver having caused this salutary example to be made, next proceeded to Kauai. When midway between the two islands they fell in with the finest canoe which they had yet seen. It was sixty-one and a half feet long, with a proportionate depth and width, and finished off in a most workmanlike manner. It was made from an American pine log, which had drifted ashore in a perfectly sound condition on Kauai, where it had remained unwrought for some time; the islanders hoping that a mate of equal dimensions might arrive, in which case they would have constructed a double canoe, which would have been their boast and the terror of their enemies. Their patience becoming exhausted, they constructed the present one, which, from its buoyancy, was an admirable sea-boat. It was appropriated to carrying despatches to and from King Keao, while he remained at the windward. Its size considerably exceeded the largest canoe made from native timber, but was not uncommon for pine-trees on the banks of the Columbia river, where, according to Douglass, they are to be met with from two hundred and fifty to three hundred feet in height.

There were messengers in the canoe, to inform their absent

* Vancouver, p. 204, vol. 2.

sovereign of a rebellion which had arisen, but had been fortunately quelled, with the loss, on the part of the conspirators, of two chiefs and five men killed, and several wounded. As trophies of their success, they had the leg-bones of the chiefs, with a portion of the flesh adhering to them. A number of smaller canoes followed, filled with prisoners, whose fate was to be decided by Keao personally.

Upon his arrival off Kauai, the young prince Kaumualii again visited him. Vancouver remained two days, during which he was mostly employed in securing comfortable residences for two young girls, who had been carried from Niihau in an English vessel, some time before. At the request of the master, he had brought them from the American coast; and being much pleased with their beauty and amiability, exerted himself successfully to procure a favourable reception for them from the chiefs of Kauai. But the wealth they carried ashore, he feared would prove too great a temptation to the cupidity of their countrymen, for them to dwell there long in safety. On the 30th of March, the ships sailed.

They returned for the last time, in January 1794, and arrived on the 9th off Hilo bay, Hawaii, which, owing to unfavourable weather, he did not enter. Kamehameha, who was then residing there, went on board. At the urgent solicitations of Vancouver, he with his train remained until the ships arrived at their old station, at Kealakeakua. In doing this, he trenched upon one of their religious customs, to the strict observance of which he was strongly wedded. It was the festival of the New Year; and in the ceremonies he always bore a conspicuous part. It was called the "Makahiki," the name of the first day in their year, and lasted a long while, generally a month, being a sort of Saturnalia. The people amused themselves with games, dances, theatrical performances, and sham-fights. The highest chief opened the festival. He dressed himself in his richest armour, and embarked in a canoe at early light, coasting the shore until sunrise, when he was obliged to land. The most expert and valiant of his

warriors was stationed to receive him; and, as soon as he touched the beach, threw three heavy spears at him in quick succession, at the distance of thirty paces. There was no jesting in this. Either one, if not avoided, would have killed him outright, or severely wounded him. The first was to be caught in his hand; with this he warded off the others, and then carried it into the heiau, with the point downwards. His entrance was the signal for the assembled multitude to commence their sports. During their continuance, all punishments were remitted, wars discontinued, and no person could leave the place where he commenced the holidays, until their expiration. Kamehameha, in after years, was advised to abolish a custom so dangerous to his person; but he answered, that "he was as able to catch a spear, as any one to throw it."*

On this occasion, he urged that it was necessary for him to obtain the sanction of the priests to his absence; but the arguments of his counsellors, joined with those of the commander, who stated that there would be no opposition to his wishes; and the more cogent reason of further confirming his importance in the eyes of the other chiefs, by this opportunity of showing his intimacy with Vancouver, overcame his religious scruples. During the passage, numbers of his subjects came off, and were surprised to find him on board, but were satisfied when he made known it was his own choice. The same boundless liberality of provisions and presents was shown as before. Kamehameha considered them as his guests, and every thing was apportioned on a princely scale. The strictest attention to the customs and wants of the whites was required of all his subjects. Some of his own train could not overcome their propensity to pilfer, and five knives were missing when they went on shore; but upon representation to the king, he, much chagrined, compelled restitution.

An instance of the cruel effects of the law of retaliation, occurred while the ships were at the island. In a spear

* Lisiansky's Voyage, p. 119; London, 1814.

exercise between a common man and the son of a chief, the former had the misfortune to mortally wound the young noble, for which he was seized, his eyes scooped out, and, at the expiration of two days, put to death.

On February 1st, the keel of the first vessel built at the islands was laid. She was to be thirty-six feet long, with nine feet and a half beam, and five feet hold, and was named the Britannia. The carpenters of the ships were employed upon it, in conjunction with one Boid, in the pay of the king; and the services rendered by Vancouver in building and rigging her, were intended as some return for the hospitality so abundantly received from the kingly savage. Nor were Vancouver's good offices confined to this act. Through the influence of inimical chiefs, Kamehameha had been estranged and separated from his favourite Kaahumanu for a long time, on account of an alleged intimacy with Kiana. Vancouver invited her on board, and, by an artifice, induced the king to come off also. The parties met: Vancouver placed the queen's hand in his; and his stern heart, softened at the distress of his wife, resisted no longer. Reconciliation, tears, and a warm embrace ensued; but, before leaving, the queen got the captain to induce Kamehameha to promise, upon their return, to forego a common custom—not to beat her. He also gave him useful hints for the discipline of his soldiers. By his counsel trained bands, armed with muskets, were formed, which were to constitute a special body-guard, divided into regular watches for the day and night. These were drilled by his officers, until they constituted for the islands an invincible force, devoted to the service of their chief. He recommended his countrymen, John Young and Isaac Davis, to his confidence; being convinced, from their good conduct, that they were worthy. He desired them to use every endeavour to establish peace, and, above all, to infuse a humane spirit into the domestic habits, warfare, and government of the nation; above all, to devote themselves to the service of their benefactor, and to counteract the malicious designs of interested foreigners, who

might be disposed to promote bloodshed, or defraud the natives of their lands. He wished to confine the number of white settlers to these two, or such others whom they could trust; but Kamehameha and the other chiefs knew too well the value of foreign auxiliaries, to be induced to banish them; there were but few on Hawaii, and those mostly of the better sort. Among them was one Howell, once a clergyman of the Church of England; afterward supercargo of a Boston brig, which he left at this island. Vancouver, with judgment that reflected much honour, while he did nothing to offend their idolatrous system, which would have at once ruined his influence, endeavoured to direct Kamehameha's religious views into the true channel. He told him of the one God, Creator, Ruler, and Judge of all races, whose Spirit pervaded the Heavens; that their earthly deities were vain and foolish; their tabu system tyrannical and injudicious; and that, if he desired it, he would request the king of England to send him a teacher of the true religion. His instructions seem to have made little impression upon the heart of the king, who, either from conviction or policy, was strongly attached to the idolatry of his country. Among his subjects he was considered favoured of their gods; and he repaid their imaginary aid by a respect to their rites, which brought the priesthood into high repute. The early part of his reign may be considered as their happiest period. Church and State were in perfect harmony, acknowledging one head. Foreign influence, as yet, was not sufficient to create any general infidelity; the little that did exist made priestcraft more tenacious and active, and gave it a more powerful hold in the minds of the mass.

To confirm the general good-will, and establish an amnesty for past troubles, Palea, the chief who stole the cutter of the Resolution, was allowed to visit the vessels; Kameeiamoku, the murderer of young Metcalf and his crew, having humbled himself, and urged in justification of his revenge the harsh treatment he had received from the father, obtained permission to come on board. He arrived at the bay in great state,

attended by a thousand men. This act does not appear consistent with Vancouver's previous inflexibility, in obtaining justice upon the death of his countrymen, at Oahu. In this instance the property was American, and the principal actor a high chief, whom it would have been difficult to secure, and whose death would have caused a hostility which would have led to dire revenge. Impunity for crime, where wealth and rank are engaged, is not peculiar to the savage.

He was present at a feast given by Vancouver, when an incident occurred which shows how liable the slightest misconception in the minds of savages is to lead to fatal results. The Hawaiians were accustomed to obtain revenge by the means of powerful vegetable poisons, in the preparation of which a certain class, called poisoners, were skilled, and whose art was confined to themselves. During the feast, liquor was freely passed about; Kamehameha, accustomed to its use, maintained his reason, but Kameeiamoku was soon overpowered, and in its first effect, raved that the English chief had poisoned him. His followers were much excited, and one who had concealed an iron dagger, handled it nervously while the deadliest passions gleamed from his visage. But Kamehameha, understanding the real cause, ordered the drunken chief to be carried out; he was soon relieved and returned in perfectly good humour. Had any accident befallen him under the operation, the whites would have been charged with his murder.

A large concourse of people appeared at the bay, but the guards preserved admirable order. Dramatic entertainments were given in the open air, to an audience of four thousand people, all gaily apparelled, and in excellent humour. At the commencement of the exhibition, a girl dressed in many coloured tapa, gathered about her waist, and spreading downwards after the fashion of a hoop petticoat, with slow illustrative gestures recited a poem. After she concluded, some females of high rank, similarly dressed, with garlands of leaves on their heads and shoulders, appeared, attended by

their customary retinues. The most profound respect was shown them. The music consisted of rude drums, beaten with great vehemence, to the noise of which their actions corresponded. They were at first highly graceful and spirited; their recitation was a compound of speaking and singing, in honour of a princess who was in captivity some sixty miles distant. At each mention of her name, every spectator was required to strip to the waist. The scene concluded with a libidinous and disgusting dance.

Before leaving, Vancouver was convinced of the futility of his efforts to secure peace. The people of Maui made a descent upon Hawaii, but were driven off. He obtained from the king a tabu on the cattle landed, that none should be destroyed for ten years. This was rigidly observed, though they increased so rapidly and acquired such wildness as to become troublesome: destroying food, breaking down their inclosures, and on one occasion, goring four natives to death. They were finally driven to the mountains. The women were to be allowed to eat of their flesh, though only on the same condition as dogs; the animal of which the men ate was to be entirely tabued from them.

On the 21st of February, a great meeting of the chiefs was held on board the Discovery, for the purpose, as Vancouver writes, of ceding Hawaii to His Britannic Majesty, but, as the natives truly state, "to request the king to protect our country." The conduct of Vancouver had done away all the bad impressions of Cook; the chiefs felt grateful for his kindness and the interest he manifested in their welfare. They had also been led to believe that other countries looked with envious eyes upon their domains, and trouble would ensue, unless protection was offered by the greatest naval power. But the prominent motive with them was selfishness; in return for the compliment they expected to derive real advantages; that England would aid them in uniting all the islands under the power of Hawaii, and a consequence in the eyes of the world be imparted to them. Speeches were made on the

occasion by Kamehameha, Kiana, Kalaimoku, Keeaumoku and others, in which these expected advantages were set forth ; the chief topic was the necessity of chastising their contumacious enemies. The chiefs, as if apprehensive of yielding more than they intended, expressly reserved to themselves the right of sovereignty, and the entire regulation of their domestic concerns. In case of disturbance from other powers, they were to be considered nominally as subjects of Great Britain. The English evidently exceeded the right granted them ; Mr. Puget went ashore, hoisted the English colours and took *possession* of the island in the name of His Britannic Majesty, leaving an inscription on copper to that effect in the house of the king.* A salute was then fired, and the natives, shouted " Kanaka no Beritane," (men of Britain.)

Kamehameha, Kaahumanu, Davis and Young, remained with Vancouver to the last moment, and manifested much emotion at his departure. The latter two chose to remain. The wealth, distinctions, and families, which they possessed, with the hope of increased usefulness in their adopted country, were more powerful inducements than the love of their native land, where a sailor's hard lot would have awaited them.

The visit of Vancouver was beneficial to both races. With his own countrymen, it placed the character of the natives in a better light, and made the rising genius of their chief known to the world. The knowledge that a powerful nation felt a deep interest in them, was a check both upon any malpractices they might be disposed to commit, and the evil designs of the whites. It enlightened the policy of Kamehameha,

* " On the 25th February, 1794, Kamahamaaha, king of Owhyhee, in council with the principal chiefs of the island assembled on board His Britannic Majesty's Sloop Discovery, in Karakakooa Bay, and in the presence of George Vancouver, commander of the said sloop, Lieutenant Peter Puget, commander of his said Majesty's tender, Chatham, and the other officers of the Discovery, after due consideration, unanimously ceded the said island of Owhyhee to His Britannic Majesty, and acknowledged themselves subjects of Great Britain."—*Vancouver*, vol. iii.

strengthened his resources, and rendered his remaining conquests easier and more readily secured. Foreigners in his successes felt their own interests to be promoted, and what under other circumstances would have been looked upon as a violent usurpation, came to be viewed as a matter of expediency and advantage, and even of real utility to the islanders themselves.

Before leaving, he learned of an attempt of the natives of Kauai, instigated by a few renegade seamen, to get possession of the brig Hancock, of Boston. It was to have been done by scuttling her, and before she sunk, to haul her upon the reef, under the pretence of saving the cargo, which was to have been plundered. The design was detected. The natives of the leewardmost island, unrestrained by the power of any dominant chief, had become more bold in their villany. The dissensions continuing to increase, Captain Brown, of the Butterworth, a London ship trading at the islands, took Kahekili to Kauai in his vessel. By this countenance he was enabled to place affairs in a more favourable situation.

Vancouver touched again at Kauai, and was entertained by a dance, in which six hundred women, dressed in figured tapas, took a part. Their voices were pleasing, motions graceful, and not of that licentious description he had witnessed at Hawaii. The recitations were varied and harmonious. On the middle of March, 1794, he took his final departure.

Vancouver left behind him a character which the most distinguished of his profession might be proud of possessing. Had the intercourse of those of his countrymen who succeeded him been conducted upon the same benevolent principles, the islanders would have been unalterably bound to English interests and feelings. But the unworthy conduct of others of his nation in later days, destroyed most of the national attachment. His memory is still dear to those who knew him. Many chiefs, long after his departure, looked for his revisit, which he had given them reason to suppose would

take place. As the attachment was mutual, it is probable that his untimely death alone terminated his intentions. He promised the chiefs to return, accompanied by missionaries to teach them a better religion, and artisans to aid them in civilization. A high rank was to have been his, and he would have resided among them, either a resident with authority from his government to protect and promote their interests, or by his own judgment to direct their councils. His plan appears to have been, to have christianized and civilized them, fostered and protected in his relations by the English ministry. The result would have proved beneficial, and civilization been advanced twenty years. The islanders would have been confirmed in their English predilections, and the wish of Meares eventually fulfilled: "one day," he trusts, "half a million of human beings inhabiting these Islands may be ranked among the civilized subjects of the British empire." The loss of the group to that power has been the gain of the remainder of the world; inasmuch as the colonial policy of Great Britain would have rendered their ports of small advantage to foreign commerce.

CHAPTER VII.

1794, Honolulu harbour discovered and surveyed—Murder of Messrs. Brown and Gardner, January 1, 1795—Capture and recapture of the Jackall and Prince Lee Boo—Troubles in Kauai—Maui, Molokai and Lanai subdued, 1795—Oahu invaded—Kiana's defection, rebellion, and death—Visit of H. B. M. ship Providence, Captain Broughton—Marines slain at Niihau—Kamehameha's proposed conquest of Tahiti—Kamehameha completes his conquests—Kauai submits—Humane policy of the conqueror—Arrangement of Government—Taxes—General peace—Courtly etiquette—Laws enacted—Internal regulations—Foreign policy—Trade—Anecdote—Preparations for conquest of Kauai—1802—Great mortality—Character of Kaamualii—His preparations—Final settlement of difficulties—Arrival of Lisianasky—1804, Young, Governor of Hawaii—Attempt to convert Kamehameha—Sydney bay convicts—Foreign settlers—Number—Campbell—Death of Davis, 1810—Kamehameha's wealth—Queens—Liholiho, his heir—Birth—Character—King returns to Hawaii—Proposed royal alliance between Tahiti and Hawaii—Public works—Attempt of Russians in Kauai, 1814—Kotzebue, 1816—Birth of Kauikeaouli—Nahienaina—Voyage to China—Establishment of harbour fees—Kamehameha's desire to hear of the Christian religion—Death, May 8th, 1819—Sacrifice of dogs—Native account of his funeral obsequies.

On the departure of Vancouver, warlike operations were resumed; the superior discipline and equipments of Kamehameha's forces, led by chiefs of tried courage and military skill, and headed by the greatest general of the group, who had never known defeat, gave the invaders a decided advantage.

Keao and Kahekili united their forces at Oahu, and sailed with a large number of canoes for Hawaii. The naval force of Kamehameha, the flag-ship of which was the schooner Britannia, armed with three brass cannon, taken from the Fair American, met them off Kohala, and in an engagement destroyed or dispersed the combined fleet. The vanquished chiefs fled to Maui. Kahekili, worn down with age and misfortunes, foreseeing the ultimate triumph of his foe, pleaded for a truce. In a message to Kamehameha, "Wait till the

black tapa covers me," said he, "and my kingdom shall be yours." His death soon took place. His kinsman, Keao of Kauai, unmindful of their common enemy, laid claim to his dominions, in defiance of the legal rights of his nephew, Kalanikupule. The latter, with the assistance of Mr. Brown and his crew, not only repelled him, but threatened his own island. This occurred in 1794. Brown was master of the English ship Butterworth. The same year he discovered and surveyed the harbour of Honolulu, which he called Fairhaven. It was first entered by the schooner Jackall, tender to that ship. On the first of January, of the ensuing year, 1795, Brown was in this harbour with two vessels, the Jackall and Prince Lee Boo; the Butterworth had sailed for England. From the assistance which he had rendered the chiefs in their affairs at Kauai, and the general good feeling which a long intercourse had engendered, he felt secure from any treachery on their part, and abode among them in an unguarded manner. The temptation was either too great, or some plausible motive for revenge existed; a plan was concerted to capture both vessels. On the anniversary of the new year, the crews were ashore, engaged in pleasure, and in preparing stores for their voyage. Aware of the defenceless condition of the vessels, the natives flocked off. Brown, and Gardner the other commander, were instantly murdered; one by being precipitated through the hatch with sufficient force to dislocate his neck; the few remaining individuals were wounded, and the possession of the deck secured. The pirates then took the vessels out of the harbour, in Waikiki bay. The seamen ashore receiving intelligence of their capture, assembled and pushed off in their boats; by a vigorous attack, the natives were overpowered, and driven overboard; having regained possession of the vessels, the survivors of the crews sailed without delay for China. It is remarkable that these piratical attempts should have been committed within two miles of the spot of, and but shortly after, the execution of the murderers of Lieutenant Hergest and Mr. Gooch.

Kamehameha, supported in his ambitious desires by the last words of Kahekili, set out with all his disposable force, which was said to have amounted to sixteen thousand men, to subjugate the neighbouring islands. Young, Davis, and a few other foreigners, expert in the use of fire-arms, accompanied him. Maui, Lanai, and Molokai were quickly overrun, suffered all the horrors of savage warfare, and were effectually subdued. Oahu, where the heir of Kahekili had retired, was his next aim. In February, 1795, he prepared for this expedition, and landed upon that island, with one detachment of his army, leaving the remainder under the command of Kiana, with orders to follow without delay. His arrival was impatiently awaited, that an attack might be made upon the enemy, who had made preparations for a vigorous defence. Kiana, thinking this a favourable opportunity to crush his rival, embarked for Oahu; and avoiding the camp of his king, deserted with all his forces, to Kalanikupule. He was aware that if Kamehameha could be destroyed by their combined exertions, there would be no chief left of sufficient energy and resources, successfully to compete with him; and the authority to which Kamehameha aspired would be his. But his treachery was his ruin. Kamehameha, nothing dispirited by the news of his defection, marched to the valley of Nuuanu, where the two chiefs were encamped. Their position was on the steep side of a hill, about three miles in the rear of the present town of Honolulu: a stone wall protected them in front, and the steepness of the ground availed them against an assault. Believing themselves secure, they defied their enemies with insulting gestures and bravados. A field-piece, which Young had brought to bear upon them, knocking the stones about their heads, disordered their ranks, and they broke and fled. Its most fatal result was the death of Kiana, who was killed by this ball; his loss spread consternation among his troops, and rendered the victory comparatively easy and bloodless.

The forces of Kamehameha charged; in the onslaught

many of the Oahuans were slain, and the rest pursued with great slaughter, until they were driven to the end of the valley, which terminates in a precipice of six hundred feet, nearly perpendicular height, between two mountains, forming a bold and narrow gorge. A few made their escape; some were driven headlong over its brink, and tumbled, mangled and lifeless corpses, on the rocks and trees beneath; others fought with desperation and met a warrior's death, among whom was Kalanikupule, who fell gallantly fighting for his inheritance to the last. The bodies of the slain were sacrificed, and their heads impaled upon the walls of a heiau. Three hundred perished in the fight; numbers escaped to Kauai, among whom were two high chiefs. This decisive victory put the conqueror in possession of all the group, except Kauai and Niihau. These he prepared to attack, and embarked for that purpose; but a violent wind drove him back, and obliged him to suspend his designs.

In January, 1796, Capt. Broughton,* commanding H.B.M. sloop Providence, of sixteen guns, anchored at Kealakeakua bay, where he remained three weeks, in amicable intercourse with the natives. His wants were liberally supplied by the lieutenants of Kamehameha. Leaving this place, he spent a few days at Lahaina, where the same hospitality awaited him. He then anchored at Waikiki bay, where he received a message from Kamehameha, inquiring if he should salute the ship with his heavy guns. Provisions were abundantly sent on board, and the usual presents of feathered cloaks. His next visit was to Kauai, where he saw Kaumualii, who was endeavouring to suppress an insurrection, and urgently solicited a supply of powder. Broughton exerted himself, though vainly, to appease the hostile parties.

In July, after a cruise to the north, he returned to Hawaii; and being in want of water, was obliged to pay at the rate of one hundred nails to the hogshead, it being brought five miles in calabashes, from a scanty source. He found the cattle and

* Broughton's Voyage of Discovery, p. 35. London: 4to. 1804.

poultry left by Vancouver had increased rapidly. This was the period of the rebellion of Namakeha, who had overrun a part of the island, and was fast gaining ground. In one battle a European was killed. The officers of Kamehameha were in great trepidation, but vigorously endeavoured to stem the efforts of the traitorous chief, while they sent despatches to inform their king of the unexpected revolt. At the same time, Broughton sailed for Oahu, where he arrived on the 25th of July. The island was suffering all the miseries of protracted warfare; provisions were exceedingly scarce; many natives had starved to death, and some had been burnt alive by their chiefs for stealing food to supply their famishing families. Kamehameha was said to have already lost six thousand of his troops; the losses of the enemy had been far greater. Probably at no period had depopulation been going on at a more rapid rate, especially at the leeward islands. War, famine, pestilence and oppression, with all the attending evils of an unsettled community, told heavily upon the nation.

At Kauai all provisions were tabued, except for powder. Broughton finding it impossible, in the then condition of the larger islands, to obtain supplies, sailed, July 28th, for Niihau, to procure yams. On the 30th, he sent a party ashore in a cutter, with only two armed marines. The crew being incautious, were suddenly attacked; the marines killed for the sake of their accoutrements; the botanist knocked down, and he, with the remainder, narrowly escaped being murdered. Perceiving their situation, assistance was sent them. A detachment fired upon the natives, without injuring any, however. Having landed, they burned all the houses within their reach, and destroyed sixteen canoes. Not being able to obtain further satisfaction, the ship sailed on the 21st. This is the last of the wanton murders which stain the earlier Hawaiian annals.

It was Kamehameha's desire, after completing the conquest of Kauai and its tributary island, to have sailed for Tahiti,

and carried his arms to the south of the equator. This scheme was suggested by some natives of that island with him. It would indeed have been a singular spectacle, to have witnessed this triumphant chieftain embarking the flower of his forces on board of his fleet of canoes, or tiny vessels, chartering perhaps some of a larger size, for an expedition against scarcely known lands, thousands of miles distant. The design was worthy of the ambition of an Alexander or Cæsar; and had he been able to have extended his conquests over the boundaries of Polynesia, he might have sighed for "new worlds to conquer," and the petty leader of a barbarian tribe have become the hero of the Pacific, and shared with Napoleon the admiration of the age. But his destiny was to found a less extended, but better consolidated empire.

News of the reverses in Hawaii having reached him, he promptly embarked for that island, where his presence soon decided the contest. Namakeha, brother of Kiana, and the head of the conspiracy, was slain, and his followers subdued.

This was the last war in which he was actively engaged; all opposition to his authority was now over. His original possessions were limited to Halaua, a large district on the north-east coast of Hawaii, which he inherited from his parents. During the lifetime of Kalaniopuu, he acquired a portion of Kona; and it was the war which arose in consequence of the attempts of his cousin to dispossess him, that developed his martial energies, and, step by step, led him on until he was master of the group. His talents were no less conspicuous in establishing his power, than in acquiring it. Towards the conquered families he practised no unnecessary severity; the principal, by alliances or gifts, were firmly bound to his interests. He espoused Keopuolani, granddaughter of Kalaniopuu. She had been made prisoner at the conquest of Maui. Being a lineal descendant of the ancient kings of Miau and Hawaii, their marriage strengthened his title to the throne. Kalaimoku, his trusty counsellor, fought

in the ranks of Keoua at Keei, was made a prisoner, and owed his life to his clemency. Although closely allied to the royal family of Maui, he became strongly attached to him. The descendants of Kahekili were liberally cared for. The beneficence and humanity of the conqueror left chiefs and people nothing to regret in the change of masters. He had the faculty of inspiring those about him with his lofty and generous sentiments, and creating in them a resolution and energy of purpose, second only to his own. An almost intuitive perception of character enabled him to secure the affection and cooperation of the best and greatest of his countrymen.

The nominal submission of the king of Auai contented his ambition relative to the dependencies of that chief, though he never lost sight of their ultimate conquest. He remained at Hawaii four years, and afterward spent much time at Lahaina, occupied in arranging his plans on a permanent basis. He established the political axiom upon which his legislation was framed, that all the lands in the group were his. This principle had been before acknowledged, though not in so complete a sense. To their old custom he added the greater authority of conquest, in right of which he claimed to be the sole lord and proprietor of the soil. This was apportioned among his followers according to their rank and deserts ; they holding it on the feudal tenure of rendering military services, and a proportion of its revenue. It was generally confirmed to their heirs, but this depended upon the will of the king. His authority was absolute ; dispensing with his own regulations as his interests dictated. But such an event was rare ; and under his reign the ancient traditionary laws of the kingdom were so arranged and enforced, as to have all the force of a written code. Each island or cluster had a governor ; he, with the approval of the king, appointed chiefs of districts ; head men, who presided over villages ; tax-gatherers, and other petty officers. Besides the general proprietorship of the soil, the king held certain districts which

were his private property, and under no authority except his own. Favourite chiefs sometimes received lands in this way, independent of the governors. No regular amount of taxes was enforced. The governors were accountable to the king for the amounts apportioned to them; they regulated theirs by their desires or the resources of the people; the chiefs required another, and the lesser officials left but little to the poor tenants. Lands were sometimes leased upon regular agreements as to the amount of the crops. Those who were deficient in their rents were turned from the land, and their property transferred to others. The districts were divided into towns or villages, and these subdivided into farms or plantations, to which a definite portion of mountain land, valley, and sea-shore, with right of forest and fisheries, were attached. The tax-gatherers, though without a knowledge of writing, kept true records of the various lands, their resources, and the amount of taxes rendered, by lines of cordage of several hundred fathoms in length. The several districts were distinguished by knots, loops, and tufts of various sizes, shapes, and colours. The different taxable articles and their rates were marked upon it in an equally ingenious manner. Beside the stipulated rents, presents of the first fruits of agriculture or the fisheries were required to be made to the chiefs. Certain lands, the gift of favouritism or the reward of distinguished services, were held free from all rents or taxes, although it was customary to make presents, the value and frequency of which were optional with the giver. From the most faithful of his warriors his governors or counsellors were selected, and he seldom decided upon an important measure without their advice. A certain number constituted a regular cabinet, and enjoyed his full confidence. Merit rather than rank was the passport to his favour. The chief of the council was Keeaumoku, a chieftain of prodigious personal strength. He was the father of a son of the same name, heir to his titles, afterward known as Governor Cox, and of Kaahumanu, Piia, Kuakini, (John

Adams as he came to be called,) and Kekauluohi the present premier. Kalaimoku, Kameeiamoku, and Mananawa, were also particularly distinguished. Beside these he had a number of "wise men," who assisted him in the organization of jurisprudence, and regulating the minor affairs of his kingdom. So perfect was the order preserved by his agents, that the anarchy which had laid waste lands and destroyed people was entirely checked. Peace was everywhere firmly established. Laws were enacted prohibiting murders, theft, oppression, and the usual crimes of a disturbed country; and so complete a change was effected, that old and young, the innocent and helpless, abode in comparative security. Compared with the former disorder, it may with propriety be termed the golden age. Kamehameha allowed no crimes but his own to exist with impunity, when his interests were not too deeply involved. To consider actions sanctioned by their customs from time immemorial a blot upon his character, would be unjust, however arbitrary they may appear to those whose lot has been placed in a land of freedom. They were merciful in comparison with what the islanders had undergone. No penalty could reach an individual screened by the favour of his chief, and the favourites of Kamehameha enjoyed the exemption common to successful courtiers.

Those chiefs, whose ambitious views he feared might disturb his newly acquired power, were retained about his person, and obliged to follow in his train wherever he went.

By this means they were kept from their hereditary domains, where they might have excited discontent, and were always under the espionage of faithful attendants, by whom any symptom of dissatisfaction would have been detected. The most powerful provinces were placed under the charge of those whose fidelity was undoubted. Young, who was not liable to become involved in the intrigues of the native princes, was left in charge of Hawaii, a station which he filled for many years, to the satisfaction of the king, foreigners, and natives. Davis remained about the person of the

sovereign, and enjoyed extensive possessions free from taxation. They both accommodated their modes of living to the manners of the natives, and from their humanity and usefulness became deservedly popular. As his power grew more firmly established, the king affected greater state; consequently the people had little access to his person. The foolish and arbitrary customs of the ancient kings of Hawaii were rigidly enforced, with such additional ceremony, as was calculated to increase the awe of his own subjects and his importance in the eyes of foreigners. Whenever he passed, heads and shoulders were to be uncovered; the same was required on approaching his residence, or any house which he had honoured with his presence. When his food was carried to or from him, every person within hearing of the cry uttered by the menials, was obliged to uncover and seat himself after the native manner, by squatting on his hams.

Before any article could be touched, the attendants were obliged to strip to the malo. Neither the shadow of the king or of his house could be crossed. His drinking water was brought from particular springs, many miles inland, reserved for his use; and as the carriers ran past, the same humbling ceremony as for his food was required. To be above him was the highest crime. Not a subject dared appear on the part of the deck of a vessel under which he by chance might be. The etiquette required from chiefs varied according to their rank, but was of the most obsequious character.

The attention required to religious duties was equally rigid. By this system of uniform despotism, of which he formed the sole head, the condition of the people was greatly ameliorated. Chiefs were provided with retinues suitable to their stations. Laws, regulating the fisheries and agriculture, were promulged; in both these pursuits he set an example by working with his own hands. By suitable rewards, he encouraged the skilful in the various handicrafts. No object, however trivial, was beneath his notice, provided it added to his wealth and resources. His vessels were free to his sub-

jects; neither were the taxes very onerous. His soldiers were well supported; they were divided into various bodies; some of whom were his body guard, while others were appointed for his wives; principally as checks upon unlawful indulgence of their sensual appetites. If they failed in their duty, they were punished with death. His partial native biographers thus feelingly sum up his excellencies, the more prominent from the contrast with earlier and subsequent reigns; and they illustrate the nature of the extortions too often practised:—"He did not become involved in debt, nor exact much silver from his subjects; he did not cut from a division of land on this side and that, till only a circular and centre piece of the original field remained; he did not, by petty taxation, collect all the hens, ducks, and turkeys; nor appoint days in which his subjects were all to labour for his exclusive benefit; his measures were generous and constant, not fickle and oppressive."

In his foreign relations his acts were characterized by equal liberality. In the infancy of his power he was in the habit of procuring from commanders testimonials of his honest and hospitable conduct; but this was relinquished as soon as his reputation became established. No chief was better acquainted with the real character of foreigners, and the purposes for which they visited his dominions. To the warships, or those that came for scientific purposes, he showed himself the hospitable prince; to traders, a merchant not excelled in sagacity by the keenest, or in reputation by the most honourable. He made himself well acquainted with weights, measures, currencies, and proportionate values. Like the present ruler of Egypt, he monopolized the most profitable sources of trade. His equitable regulations, and encouragement to commerce, annually increased the argosies that flocked to his shores; while his extended power insured them an equally welcome reception in all portions of his kingdom. No port in the Pacific became better known, or afforded more facilities for refreshments and general trade, than Honolulu.

Consequently, his popularity was as great as deserved. By his energies, a numerous and well-manned fleet of foreign-built vessels was collected; soldiers drilled, equipped, and dressed in a motley uniform; batteries of heavy guns mounted; forts erected; armouries and magazines established; and a numerous corps of foreign artisans, physicians, and sailors, received into his service, well-treated, freed from the vexatious etiquette required from the highest of his own race, but compelled to preserve order and render due obedience to the authority which supported them. His own subjects, by his encouragement, manifested an aptness in acquiring civilized arts, that alarmed many of these foreign mercenaries; even Isaac Davis, with an illiberality that dishonours his general good conduct, sought to prevent the extension of knowledge among them; observing, "They will soon know more than ourselves*." All his subjects were required to keep their weapons in perfect order, so as to be ready for war at the shortest notice.

His observations of foreign manufactures and customs were marked, and the result of an inquiring, intelligent mind. No idea or circumstance that could be made serviceable escaped his notice. In visiting fine specimens of naval architecture, he took great delight; his arrival was sometimes announced in form, and the visit conducted with ceremony; but friendship once formed, artificial restraint was thrown aside, and he would put off by himself in a canoe, and go on board in the most unceremonious manner. In 1801, a fine Boston pilot-boat-built ship was lying in his principal harbour, and as she was engaged in the Indian trade, martial order was preserved on board. Kamehameha came off alone, and ascended to the gangway, when he was repulsed by the sentinel, who did not recognize his person. He then gave his name and title, and, with the permission of the officer of the deck, was admitted. So far from feeling chagrined at this want of respect, he complimented the captain upon his

* Campbell's Voyages, p. 141.

excellent discipline, and called the sentinel a "worthy fellow."

During his residence at Lahaina, Kameeiamoku died. In 1801, he returned to Oahu, to prepare a great armament for the conquest of Kauai. This occupied him two years. He got together seven thousand warriors and fifty whites, mostly armed with muskets. Beside these, he had forty swivels, six mortars, and an abundance of ammunition. A fleet of twenty-one schooners, from ten to fifty tons each, some of which carried guns, and were commanded by Europeans, and a vast number of war-canoes, were prepared to convey this force, against which the Kauaians could have offered but faint resistance. At this time, (1804,) he added to his navy the American ship Lilibourgh, mounting twenty guns. She had got ashore, and he purchased her by exchanging one of his schooners, and paying the difference in dollars. Before he could embark his forces, an epidemic broke out among them, of a peculiar character, which spread over the island, and proved very fatal. Multitudes perished; among them some of his chief counsellors. He was himself attacked, but recovered. The sons of the deceased chiefs succeeded to the offices of their fathers, but never acquired that influence which those who had shared all his perils, and fought side by side with him on many eventful occasions, legitimately exercised.

Keao, the old king of Kauai, was deceased, and had been succeeded by Kaumualii, his son. The bright parts and generous spirits noticed by Vancouver, had been fully sustained. His subjects were devotedly attached to him, as were also a number of foreigners, who had enlisted in his service. Like his rival of Oahu, he was friendly to strangers, and encouraged trade; possessing equal humanity and intelligence, he was deficient in the firmness of purpose and powerful will which characterized Kamehameha. Fear and courage alternated; supported by the generous devotion of his people, he had energetically prepared to resist attack. His warriors were well armed, and a store of European arms and ammu-

nition had been provided, sufficient to have protracted his fate, if he had vigorously opposed the invader. With the capricious spirit of one of his disposition, encouraged by the long delay which had attended Kamehameha's operations, he sent him repeated messages of defiance, and finally threatened to invade Oahu. But this bravado was not borne out; for fully appreciating the great resources opposed to him, he caused the mechanics in his pay to prepare a vessel, in which, as a last resource, he with his family could fly the island, and abandoning themselves to the wide Pacific, find such a home as the wind and waves might provide them. This was an idea worthy of his genius, in the composition of which, much that was chivalrous entered. Without a knowledge of navigation, but possessing the compass, he could easily have carried his fortunes to some of the groups further to the leeward, and there founded a new dynasty.

The vastness of Kamehameha's preparations showed his opinion of the importance of the conquest, and argued considerable respect for the military skill and resources of Kaumualii. The disease which destroyed the flower of his troops, did not check his ardour. Turnbull, who arrived at this juncture, in an English ship, was importuned by Kamehameha to take him, and an officer of his army, to Kauai, that they might themselves see the condition of the island; a design which well accorded with the boldness of its author. He was refused. An American captain then in port, whose interests would have been greatly jeopardized by the war, volunteered to sail for Kauai, and induce Kaumualii to return with him, and enter into negotiations at Oahu. As the presence of Kamehameha was necessary at Hawaii, where a deficiency in the revenue had occurred, he consented to this measure. The captain sailed for Waimea, and by leaving his mate as a hostage for the safe return of their king, a measure without which his subjects would not have permitted his departure, Kaumualii embarked. In the word of his enemy, pledged for his safety, he had entire confidence; so greatly

was Kamehameha respected by those to whom treachery had, not long before, been as natural as sleep. He was received and entertained with princely greeting; festivity, shows, and every profession of friendship attested the good disposition of his royal entertainer. Won over, he ceded to Kamehameha, his kingdom; this was generously relinquished, and an agreement made, by which the leeward king was to hold his islands in fief from Kamehameha, retaining all that was legitimately his own, and in addition receiving the protection of the greater power. In this manner the islands were nominally united under one sovereignty, while each king ruled in his appropriate sphere; the treaty, thus peaceably agreed upon, gave mutual satisfaction, and was faithfully respected during the lifetime of Kamehameha.

Some of his enemies gave a different, but highly improbable version of this negotiation. They state that the death of Kaumualii was designed; and that the welcome he received was intended to allay suspicion. The time of his fate was fixed, but the American captain getting wind of it, went on shore, brought the king off, and sailed immediately for Kauai. If this were true, the friendship which afterwards existed between the two, is unaccountable, and is sufficient to disprove the statement.

Kaumualii's wife, Kapuli, better known by her baptismal name, Deborah, then a young and beautiful woman, exercised great influence over his mind. This occasionally gave umbrage to the court at Oahu, and word was sent him to put her away; to this he gave no heed, and she was suffered to remain queen without further remonstrance. The chiefs were usually very strict with their females; but Kaumualii in his easy nature allowed Kapuli all the latitude with his friends, that the most ardent disposition could desire. Kamehameha put to death a near relative, for taking improper liberties with his favourite, Kaahumanu.

In June, 1804, Lisiansky, in the Russian discovery ship, Neva, arrived at Hawaii. Young was then governor, and

showed him many civilities. In his intercourse with the natives, he had occasion to perceive the extent to which the king undertook to regulate trade. Certain necessary articles could only be obtained by giving in exchange bar-iron, of which he was greatly in want. By such restrictions he was enabled to provide himself with many useful things, which the whites would not otherwise have sold. Lisiansky found the knowledge of prices and the art of bargaining well understood among all classes, but speaks favourably of their honesty and friendly behaviour. The value of dollars was well known, and trade generally had assumed more the character of regular mercantile transactions. Lisiansky departed without seeing Kamehameha.

The greater number of merchant vessels that frequented these islands at this period, were from Boston; like the savages of the Northwest Coast, the islanders spoke of Americans generally as Bostonians, and regarded them with great favour. On the 23rd of January, 1803, the first horse was landed from a Boston vessel; its mettle and beauty created mingled terror and admiration; but the arrival of others from California, not long after, made them soon cease to be objects of curiosity. Kamehameha became the fortunate possessor of several, and was fond of displaying his horsemanship.

At this time an attempt was made to convince him of the truth of the Christian faith.* After listening to the arguments, which, unfortunately, were not skilfully adduced, or so arranged as to appear in the most favourable light to his thinking mind, he replied, "By faith in your God, you say anything can be accomplished, and the Christian will be preserved from all harm. If so, cast yourself down from yonder precipice, and if you are preserved, I will believe."

Some Botany Bay convicts having made their escape to Oahu, were received into the service of the king, and small allotments of land given them. On them they raised sugar-cane, and contrived a still to manufacture ardent spirits.

* Cleveland's Voyages, vol. i. p. 229.

They produced the usual results—neglect of work, riots, and quarrels. Kamehameha at first remonstrated with them, but his leniency produced no effect. They finally maltreated some natives, when he sent them word that at their next drinking and fighting bout he would be present. This hint humbled them at once; but it was from this class that the natives received the greatest injury.

In addition to the useful articles of foreign manufacture, such as cloth and hardware, which were greatly in demand, navigators, in accordance with the spirit of the day, traded in rum. It, however, was generally monopolized by the king, who would occasionally join in a revel with his wives and favourites. The disputes which arose, in consequence of too great indulgence among the women, afforded the chiefs, whose heads were more potent, much amusement. Kamehameha was quite regular, though not intemperate in his potations. His subjects acquired a fondness for its use, which, however, during his reign, was duly restrained. Peace being now universal, munitions of war had lost their former value.

Kamehameha was desirous of procuring an anvil which he had noticed on board of a ship. It was given him, upon condition of his divers bringing it up from ten fathoms water. To this he agreed; the anvil was thrown overboard, and the divers descended; but its weight proved too great for their utmost exertions. Unwilling to abandon the prize, they rolled it along at the bottom of the harbour, rising occasionally for breath, and alternately relieving each other, until it reached the beach, half a mile distant.

So favourable an opinion had now been formed of the character and capabilities of the islanders, and of the good influence exerted by comparatively uncultivated white settlers, that Turnbull*, as early as 1803, suggested the speedy

* John Turnbull was supercargo to an English ship, which voyaged extensively in the Pacific, between 1800 and 1804, visiting chiefly the Society and Hawaiian groups; an interesting account of which is to be found in his "Voyage around the World," published at London, and reprinted at Philadelphia in 1810. He was a man of enlarged and humane views. Some of his opinions have since been so amply fulfilled, as now to appear almost pro-

establishment of missionaries among them. He judged the situation and advantages as infinitely superior to the field occupied by his countrymen at Tahiti. The suggestion, however, fell upon unwilling ears, and America was left afterward to reap the rich reward of disinterested benevolence. The natives who had been in foreign countries, acquired the English tongue, and had become partially weaned from their superstitions, rendered the enterprise more favourable. The greatest obstacle would have been the strong religious tendencies of Kamehameha himself; but could these have been rightly directed, as there is little room to doubt would have eventually happened, they would have exerted an activity in the cause which would even have surpassed the late efforts of Kaahumanu, who gave it an impetus which revolutionized the nation. As it was, he continued his devotions to his idols to the last, though acknowledging their worthlessness. He doubtless viewed the system as a powerful engine of government, and more of politics than piety mingled in his later views. His stern bigotry did not always get the better of his humanity. A boy whom he loved was doomed to sacrifice by a priest, when very low, and expected to die on a day sacred to his god. A crime so heinous could only be obviated by an earlier death. The priest told this to Kamehameha, but he sternly ordered him to bring the youth to him. By his care he recovered, and ever after was one of his family.

phetical. Of the Americans he writes, "they will do more than any others to exalt them (the Hawaiian islands) to a singular degree of civilisation." (Page 125.)

He foresaw the evils which would originate from the introduction of ardent spirits, and thus strongly expresses himself:—"I know no sufficient punishment that the wretch would merit who should import a cargo of spirituous liquors into the Sandwich or Society islands; it would in every respect be tantamount to the wilful administration of an equal quantity of poison." (Page 148.) A bold ingenuous sentiment for an epoch when the baneful trade was not only legalized, but encouraged by all classes. Kamehameha was so fully persuaded of the evil, that, although he permitted its importation, and allowed it to be used to a certain extent by his followers, he tabued, shortly before his death, all stills within his own kingdom. Not a drop of any kind was allowed to be manufactured; and any infringement of this law was visited by a forfeiture or destruction of the delinquent's property.

The saliva of the king was carefully preserved in a spittoon, in the edges of which were set the teeth of his ancestors. Should his enemies get possession of any of it, they were supposed to have the power to occasion his death by sorcery and prayer.

In 1809, a Russian ship arrived at Honolulu, having on board Archibald Campbell, a sailor who had been shipwrecked at Sannack. At his wish, he was taken into the service of the king, in which he remained upwards of a year. He was treated with much kindness, and had a farm given him. Subsequently his narrative* was published; and it contains many interesting particulars of the domestic life of Kamehameha, related with an artlessness which attests their truth. He speaks in grateful terms of the friendship received "from all ranks, from my much honoured master, the king, down to the lowest native." He states that Kamehameha generally conformed to the customs of his own country in regard to food; and adopted only such articles of foreign dress as were suitable to the climate; although on some occasions he wore a uniform, of which he had a number of beautiful suits. The whites about him were served more in accordance with their civilised habits; being provided at meals with plates, knives, and forks. In March, 1810, Campbell left for England, in the whaler Duke of Portland, Captain Spence, by whom Kamehameha sent a feather cloak to the king of England, with a dictated letter, in which he reminded him of a promise received from Vancouver, that a man-of-war, with an armament of brass pieces, and loaded with articles of European manufacture, should be sent him. He expressed his regret that the distance prevented him from rendering service to him in his wars, and assured him of his regard. Although Kamehameha learned to converse in English with tolerable fluency, he never acquired the art of writing.

Manini, or Don Manin, a Spaniard, had settled many years

* Voyage round the World, from 1806 to 1812, by Archibald Campbell. 12mo. Edinburgh: 1816.

before at Oahu, and had made himself useful by the attention he paid to agriculture and cattle. He introduced many plants, fruits, and vegetables, and at one time was in the confidence of the king, being employed as interpreter. In 1810, the number of whites alone on Oahu amounted to sixty; some of whom were sober and industrious, and much respected by the chiefs; but the generality were idle and dissolute, held in restraint only by the authority of the king. The number of half-breeds was considerable. This unfortunate class received little attention from their parents, and grew up in vicious ignorance. Many of the natives had become respectable carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, and tailors.

Isaac Davis died in April, 1810, and was interred at Honolulu, in the cemetery set apart for foreigners.

Kamehameha, by his trade in sandal-wood and pearls, and various monopolies, acquired great wealth. His stores of European, American, and Chinese goods, were extensive and valuable. Arms and ammunition he possessed in great abundance, and his coffers were well filled with dollars. A number of houses, erected after the European manner, had been built for him, but he preferred the straw habitations of his country.

His fleet was mostly laid up in ordinary. Two queens composed his legitimate wives; of these Kaahumanu remained the favourite, no one except her husband daring to enter her presence uncovered. She was inordinately fond of ardent spirits, and frequently drank to excess. A daughter was born to him in 1809, and the event announced by a salute of sixteen guns from the battery in front of his residence. On this occasion the queen, in accordance with their customs, retired to a house in the forest for ten days.

Liholiho, his eldest son, was born of Keopuolani in Hawaii, about the year 1795. Kamehameha, to establish the succession in his family, in 1809 invested him with royal honours, by which he became entitled to the same etiquette as himself. The government continued in its customary routine. The

prince was an indolent, pleasure-loving youth, of a frank and humane disposition. His manners were generally dignified and agreeable; his mind inquisitive, and memory retentive. Circumstances might have made him worthy of his parentage, but his high station, and freedom from care, made him reckless and dissipated. He was fond of liquor, but, until his accession to the throne, was under the same powerful influence which held all, from the highest to the lowest, in complete thraldom.

Kamehameha remained at Oahu nine years; he then embarked with his suite on board of some foreign vessels, and, accompanied by a large fleet of small craft and canoes, sailed for Hawaii, touching at Lahaina, Molokai, and other places, to dispose of sandal-wood and other products, which had been collected by Keeaumoku, governor of that part of his dominions. Kalaimoku was left in charge of Oahu. The king lived at Hawaii, principally about Kailua and Kealakeakua, until his death. In his hereditary possessions he was greatly revered. During a famine he laboured for his own food, and compelled his followers to work likewise. The spot of land which he tilled is pointed out to this day, as a mark of his benevolence. With a providence unusual to his nation, he allowed none of the young sandal-wood to be cut, observing that such wood was to be preserved for his successors. Neither would he permit the birds which were caught for their feathers to be killed; but ordered them to be set free, after they were plucked of the few that were wanted. The bird-catchers, with native logic, inquired "who will possess the birds set free? you are an old man." He replied, new feathers would replace those plucked, and the birds would again be useful.

Like civilised conquerors, he delighted equally in overcoming obstacles of nature as of men. Undertakings which had been considered impracticable, he accomplished. Some of the most conspicuous and extensive heiaus, fish-ponds, and other public works, were erected by him. At Halaua, the

district which was his patrimony, he dug through a ledge of stone from a perpendicular height of one hundred feet, making a good road with a gradual descent to the sea-side. At another spot he endeavoured to procure pure water, by digging through the several strata of lava; after penetrating to considerable depth, through compact rock, he was obliged to relinquish the job, from want of gunpowder and suitable tools. At Kiholo is another monument of his enterprise, in a fish-pond two miles in circumference. Across a small bay, which runs inland, he caused a strong stone wall to be built. It is half a mile long, six feet high in parts, and twenty wide. Several arches, strongly guarded by strong wooden stakes, allowing egress to the water, but preventing the fishes from escaping.

In 1814 a ship, owned by Baranoff, the governor of the Russian colony at Sitka, was wrecked at Waimea, Kauai; the principal part of the cargo was saved, and entrusted to the care of Kaumualii for the owners. In 1815 the Russian governor sent a German physician, by the name of Scheffer, to take possession of the wrecked property. He arrived in the American ship Isabella, Captain Tyler, at Kailua, bringing with him considerable powder and clothing; Kamehameha received him in a friendly manner, and sent orders to Kaumualii to deliver the property into his charge. After a few weeks stay at Hawaii, he sailed for Waimea, Kauai, there landed his goods, built a house, and commenced trading. Kaumualii purchased the powder, and some other articles, for sandal-wood. Soon after a Russian ship, the Discovery, arrived with thirty Kodiack Indians. They had been on an unsuccessful search for a seal island. By the orders of the governor of Sitka these Indians were left with Dr. Scheffer, and the vessel returned. Two other Russian vessels arrived, one a ship, the Myrtle, commanded by Captain Long, and the other a brig, by an American, who, having quarrelled with Scheffer, who was agent for both, was removed from the command. The vessels were ordered to the bay of Hanalei,

on the north side of the island, where they remained during the winter. On a cliff commanding them the doctor built a slight fort, and had a few cannons mounted.

Kaumualii, being anxious to secure his services in superintending the building a stone fort at Waimea, gave him the fertile valley of Hanalei and other valuable tracts. This excited his cupidity, and he plotted to secure the whole island. He presented a schooner, with many other articles, to the king; and, in return, it is said, obtained a lease of the whole island for a long period. The fort was sufficiently completed to mount a number of guns on one side; a magazine was built, and a flag-staff erected, on which the Russian colours were occasionally displayed.

According to the natives, Scheffer laid a plot to cut off Kaumualii and his chief men, at a feast, to which he had invited them. The American captain revealed it to the king, who, however, attended, with the precaution of a guard sufficient to prevent any nefarious attempt. Nothing transpired to confirm the report. Scheffer made himself obnoxious by his arbitrary conduct, and reports were carried to Kamehameha that the Russians were preparing to invade his dominions, and had already obtained possession of Kauai. Much alarmed, he sent word to Kaumualii to drive them away. Accordingly Scheffer was compelled to embark with his Indians, without delay, on board of the brig, which was then at Waimea. The next day his property was taken off to him. He then sailed for Hanalei, joined the ship, and left the island.*

The acts of Scheffer, which seem to have had no other origin than a desire for his own aggrandizement, with the hope of being ultimately supported by the Russian governor,

* Robert Greenhow, in his historical memoir, gives a most singular and erroneous account of this affair, but does not name his authority. He states that one hundred Aleutians, sent by Baranoff, under the command of Dr. Scheffer, *ravaged* the island of Kaual for one year, without subduing it; they were then obliged to leave for Hawaii, where they entered the service of some American whalers, &c., page 149. For the correct particulars, see Haw. Spectator, vol. I, page 219.

or perhaps the government, created a very unfavourable opinion towards the Russians throughout the group. Apprehensive of further attempts, the king caused guards to be stationed along the coast of Hawaii, with directions to resist any attempt at landing. The Diana, a Russian sloop-of-war, arrived soon after at Waimea, made some inquiries concerning Scheffer, purchased supplies, and then left.

Captain Kotzebue, in the Russian discovery-ship, Rurick, arrived off Hawaii, November 21, 1816. He soon learned of the hostile feeling towards his countrymen, which at first placed him in some jeopardy. He assured the islanders of the kindly intentions of his emperor, and that Scheffer's conduct was the result of his own private ambition, and was neither countenanced or approved by his government. These representations satisfied Kamehameha; and when the Rurick anchored at Kealakeakua, he received him with his customary courtesy and hospitality. He excused himself from visiting on board, by alleging the fears of his subjects, whose apprehensions were not entirely allayed.

Kotzebue visited him at his palace, and there met with Liholiho and Kaahumanu; the latter made many inquiries after Vancouver. He remarked the general use of tobacco, which was carried to such excess, from inhaling its fumes, as to produce partial derangement, intoxication, and often death. Even young children indulged in the pernicious practice.

The Rurick was supplied with stores and refreshments gratuitously; in acknowledgment for which Kotzebue gave Kamehameha two brass field-pieces, wire, and iron bars, which were highly acceptable. He then sailed for Honolulu, and the Rurick was the first man-of-war that entered that harbour. Considerable excitement existed in regard to his intentions, which, however, subsided when Kalaimoku made known the king's commands. Two fine vessels then bore Kamehameha's flag, which had been adopted shortly before; the English union, with seven alternated red, white, and blue stripes, emblematic of the principal islands. One was a ship,

newly purchased, destined for China, with a cargo of sandal-wood, and the other a war-brig, the Kaahumanu, of eighteen guns, commanded by an Englishman of the name of Adams. Wishing to survey the harbour, Kotzebue placed flags upon several different stations; the sight of them reminded the natives of Scheffer's acts, when he hoisted the Russian flag, and these were supposed to have been planted with a like intention. A commotion arose which would have proved dangerous to the surveying party, had not Young, who then lived on the island, overseeing the erection of the present fort, explained the cause, and substituted brooms for the obnoxious ensigns. Clothes were much in demand at this time among the chiefs, and their costume presented the same ludicrous mixture of barbarism and civilisation that exists among the poorer classes of the present time. A lance fight was exhibited for the gratification of Kotzebue, which terminated in dangerous wounds to some of the party. The passions of the combatants, so long unexercised in war, on these occasions were apt to become exasperated, and the mock battle terminate in a furious and bloody encounter. Kamehameha seldom allowed them to take place, and then only under a guard of soldiers armed with muskets. On the 14th of December, the Rurick sailed; she was the first national ship that exchanged salutes with the batteries of Honolulu.

An attempt was made to cement an alliance between the royal families of Hawaii and Tahiti, by a double marriage. Gifts and friendly messages had been frequently exchanged between Pomare I. and Kamehameha; and finally, it was agreed that a son of each should marry a daughter of the other. Kekauluohi was selected for Pomare; but his death broke off the matches, and the project was never resumed. Earlier than this, Kaumualii sent an agent to Tahiti, in a foreign ship, to negotiate with the reigning family for a wife for himself; but the man proved unfaithful to his trust, and, seduced by the well-favoured beauties of that island, settled there.

In the early part of 1816, Kauikeaouli, the present occupant of the throne, was born. Nahienaena, the princess, was born about two years later of the same mother, Keopuolani; so that their rank, and that of Liholiho, was equally derived from the past and reigning dynasties; consequently, by descent and conquest, they were the lawful heirs to the throne of the united kingdom.

Kamehameha had made some overtures toward opening a direct trade with the governor of the Russian settlements, in the early part of his reign. However, but little resulted from it. Sandal-wood had now become the great article of export, amounting in one year to near four hundred thousand dollars. While it lasted, it was a mine of wealth to the chiefs; but it engendered luxury and extravagance; and many rich cargoes were purchased, at the cost of great labour and heavy taxation. They were frequently stored in unsuitable buildings, and there perished from neglect. Kamehameha, learning of the great profits derived by the merchants from their sales in China, determined to prosecute the business on his own account; accordingly, he fitted up the ship before-mentioned, loaded her with the wood, and under the direction of English officers, and a native supercargo, Kapihe, despatched her for Canton, which was the first foreign port in which the Hawaiian flag was displayed. Extravagant port charges, and the dissipation of the captain and supercargo, ran away with the proceeds of the sales. She returned safely; but in lieu of the riches of the Celestial empire, the king found himself three thousand dollars in debt. The chief items of the charges, were, pilotage, anchorage, and custom-house dues. This suggested to him the idea of raising a revenue in the same manner; and from that time regular rates for harbour-fees were established.

Though, toward the latter period of Kamehameha's reign, a general laxness in regard to the tabus began to prevail, yet every open transgression was severely punished. A woman was put to death for entering the eating-house of her husband, though at the time she was tipsy. In 1818, three men were

sacrificed at Kealakeakua; one for putting on the *malo* of a chief, another for eating a forbidden article, and the third for leaving a house that was tabu, and entering one that was not.

Kamehameha resided at Kailua seven years. The changes which had occurred at Tahiti, by the final triumph of the Christian religion, aroused his attention, and he made many inquiries in regard to the causes and results. He desired to be instructed in the doctrines, and to learn of the nature of the Supreme Being, that the foreigners worshipped. Unfortunately, the whites around him were little calculated to explain the sublime truths, or to tell of the joyful tidings which he so longed to hear.

On the 8th of May, 1819, at the age of sixty-six, this great and good savage died. If judged by his comparative advantages, he may be justly styled the Napoleon of the Pacific. Without the worst traits of his prototype, he possessed, according to the situation he occupied, equal military skill, as vigorous an intellect, and as keen a judgment, as his illustrious cotemporary; a like force of character in bending wills to his own, and a similar ingenuity in adapting circumstances to his designs. Nothing in intellectual or physical nature, that arrested his attention, proved beyond his grasp. It was his misfortune not to have come in contact with men whose moral qualities were sufficiently pure and developed to have rightly influenced his religious aspirations. He felt himself, and justly so, above them all, the ruling mind; avarice, drunkenness, lust, and tyranny, the besetting sins alike of civilised and savage monarchs, he manly withstood. To this day his memory warms the heart and illumines the national feeling of every Hawaiian. They are proud of their old warrior-king; they love his name; his deeds form their historical age; and an enthusiasm everywhere prevails, shared even by foreigners who knew his worth, that constitutes the firmest pillar of the throne of his son.

The native historians relate the circumstances of his

death with a feeling and minuteness, which so well illustrates many of their customs, that the reader must pardon me for inserting it.

A sacrifice of three hundred dogs attended his obsequies; no mean holocaust, when their national value is considered.

"When Kamehameha was dangerously sick, and the priests were unable to cure him, they said, 'Be of good courage, and build a house for the god, that thou mayest recover.' The chiefs corroborated this advice of the priests, and a place of worship was prepared for Kukailimoku, and consecrated in the evening. They proposed also to the king, with a view to prolong his life, that human victims should be sacrificed to his deity; upon which the greater part of the people absconded through fear of death, and concealed themselves in hiding-places till the kapu, in which destruction impended, was past. It is doubtful whether Kamehameha approved of the plan of the chiefs and priests to sacrifice men, as he was known to say, 'The men are sacred for the king;' meaning that they were for the service of his successor. This information was derived from his son, Liholiho.

"After this, his sickness increased to such a degree that he had not strength to turn himself in his bed. When another season, consecrated for worship at the new temple (heiau), arrived, he said to his son Liholiho, 'Go thou, and make supplication to thy god; I am not able to go, and will offer my prayers at home.' When his devotions to his feathered god, Kukailimoku, were concluded, a certain religiously-disposed individual, who had a bird-god, suggested to the king that through its influence his sickness might be removed. The name of this god was Pua; its body was made of a bird, now eaten by the Hawaiians, and called in their language, *alae*. Kamehameha was willing that a trial should be made, and two houses were constructed to facilitate the experiment; but while dwelling in them, he became so very weak as not to receive food. After lying there three days, his wives, children, and chiefs, perceiving that he was very low, returned him to his own house. In the evening he was carried to the eating-house, where he took a little food in his mouth, which he did not swallow; also a cup of water. The chiefs requested him to give them his counsel. But he made no reply, and was carried back to the dwelling-house; but when near midnight—ten o'clock, perhaps—he was carried again to the place to eat; but, as before, he merely tasted of what was presented to him. Then Kaikoewa addressed him thus: 'Here we all are, your younger brethren, your son, Liholiho, and your foreigner; impart to us your dying charge, that Liholiho and Kaahumanu may hear.' Then Kamehameha inquired, 'What do you say?' Kaikoewa repeated, 'Your

counsels for us.' He then said, 'Move on in my good way, and ——.' He could proceed no further. The foreigner (Mr. Young) embraced and kissed him. Hoapili also embraced him, whispering something in his ear, after which he was taken back to the house. About twelve, he was carried once more to the house for eating, into which his head entered, while his body was in the dwelling-house immediately adjoining. It should be remarked, that this frequent carrying of a sick chief to and fro, from one house to another, resulted from the tabu system then in force. There were at that time six houses connected with an establishment; one was for worship, one for the men to eat in, another for the women, a dormitory, a house in which to beat kapa, and one where at certain intervals the women might dwell in seclusion.

"The sick king was once more taken to his house, when he expired; this was at two o'clock—a circumstance from which Leleiohoku derived his name. As he breathed his last, Kalaimoku came to the eating-house to order those in it to go out. There were two aged persons thus directed to depart; one went, the other remained on account of love to the king, by whom he had formerly been kindly sustained. The children also were sent away. Then Kalaimoku came to the house, and the chiefs had a consultation. One of them spoke thus: 'This is my thought, we will eat him raw.' Kaahumanu replied, 'Perhaps his body is not at our disposal; that is more properly with his successor. Our part in him—the breath—has departed; his remains will be disposed of by Liholiho.'

"After this conversation, the body was taken into the consecrated house for the performance of the proper rites by the priest and the king. The name of the ceremony is *uko;* and when the sacred hog was baked, the priest offered it to the dead body, and it became a god, the king at the same time repeating the customary prayers.

"Then the priest, addressing himself to the king and chiefs, said, 'I will now make known to you the rules to be observed respecting persons to be sacrificed on the burial of his body. If you obtain one man before the corpse is removed, one will be sufficient; but after it leaves this house four will be required. If delayed until we carry the corpse to the grave, there must be ten: but after it is deposited in the grave, there must be fifteen. To-morrow morning there will be a tabu, and if the sacrifice be delayed until that time, forty men must die.'

"Then the high-priest Hewahewa, inquired of the chiefs, Where shall be the residence of king Liholiho? They replied, 'Where, indeed? you of all men ought to know.' Then the priest observed, 'There are two suitable places; one is Kau, the other, Kohala.' The chiefs preferred the latter, as it was more thickly inhabited. The priest added, 'These are proper places for the king's residence, but he must not remain in Kona, for it is polluted.'

This was agreed to. It was now break of day. As he was being carried to the place of burial, the people perceived that their king was dead, and they wailed. When the corpse was removed from the house to the tomb, a distance of one chain, the procession was met by a certain man who was ardently attached to the deceased. He leaped upon the chiefs who were carrying the king's body; he desired to die with him, on account of his love. The chiefs drove him away. He persisted in making numerous attempts, which were unavailing. His name was Keamahulihia. Kalaimoku also had it in his heart to die with him, but was prevented by Hookio.

"The morning following Kamehameha's death, Liholiho and his train departed for Kohala according to the suggestions of the priest, to avoid the defilement occasioned by the dead. At this time, if a chief died, the land was polluted, and the heirs sought a residence in another part of the country, until the corpse was dissected and the bones tied in a bundle, which being done, the season of defilement terminated. If the deceased were not a chief, the house only was defiled, which became pure again on the burial of the body. Such were the laws on this subject.

"On the morning in which Liholiho sailed in his canoe for Kohala, the chiefs and people mourned after their manner on occasion of a chief's death, conducting like mad men, and like beasts. Their conduct was such as to forbid description. The priests, also, put into action the sorcery apparatus, that the person who had prayed the king to death might die; for it was not believed that Kamehameha's departure was the effect either of sickness or old age. When the sorcerers set up by their fire-places sticks with a strip of kapa flying at the top, the chief Keeaumoku, Kaahumanu's brother, came, in a state of intoxication, and broke the flag-staff of the sorcerers, from which it was inferred that Kaahumanu and her friends had been instrumental in the death of Kamehameha. On this account they were subjected to abuse."—*Hawaiian Spectator*, vol. ii. p. 227.

CHAPTER VIII.

1819—Consequences of the death of Kamehameha—Scepticism—Occasion of—Abolition of idolatry—National character—Rebellion of Kekuokalani—Defeat and death—1820—Arrival of American missionaries—Reception—Hostile intrigues—Kindness of Kaumualii—Of foreigners—Tyranny and dissipation of Liholiho—Gradual improvement of Nation—Voyage of Liholiho to Kauai, July, 1821—Kaumualii's hospitality—Treachery of Liholiho—Keeaumoku made governor of Kauai—Kaahumanu's marriage to Kaumualii and his son—First church erected at Honolulu—Increased taxation—January, 1822—First printing at the islands—State of education—Arrival of English deputation—Results—Present of armed schooner—First Christian marriage—Hoapili appointed Governor of Mauai—New missionaries—Increasing favour of government—1823—Festival in honour of Kamehameha—Illness and death of Keopuolani—Foreign hostility to missions—Marriage of Hoapili—Liholiho and train embark for England, 1824—Death of Kaumvalii—Rebellion at Kauai—Final subjugation—Last heathen sacrifice performed by one of the royal family—1824—Conversion of Kalaimoku and Kaahumanu—Character of their administration—News of the death of the king—Arrival of British Consul and family, April, 1825.

By the death of Kamehameha, the key-stone which had continued firmly to unite the rites of heathenism with the policy of government, was removed, and the fabric gave evidence of speedy ruin. The scepticism which pervaded all ranks became manifest; none had a more hearty contempt for their pagan ceremonies than the new king, Liholiho. The foreigners, whom he had gathered in his train, had succeeded in infusing their infidelity into his mind, without giving him any correct principles for the foundation of a new belief. In his love of sensual gratification, disregard of customs and traditions, sanctioned by usage immemorial, desire yet fear of change, and ignorance of the means of accomplishment, he embodied the general spirit of his nation. The utter worthlessness of their old system, and consequent evils were apparent to all, and its downfal ardently desired.

This condition of the public sentiment necessarily resulted

from their commercial relations with foreigners. Though the classes which frequented their shores and settled among them, were far from exemplifying in their characters the real spirit of the religion they professed, yet its influence, even as manifested in them, was infinitely superior to heathenism. Those who altogether set at nought its doctrines, were unconscious of the obligations which even they owed to its enlightening and humanizing influences, and which frequently were actively displayed. From what has been exhibited of their character, previous to the commencement of intercourse with whites, it will readily be admitted that it had reached a degradation beyond which it would have been impossible to have fallen. Consequently the contact of a better race must necessarily cause improvement. That this emphatically was the case, despite individual instances of wrong, crime, avarice, and other evils of civilisation, which like parasites, cling to the stately trunk that yields them an unwilling support, the condition of the Hawaiian nation at this epoch, plainly shows. Their influence had been directly commercial; religious ideas and knowledge of the creeds of more favoured nations had been incidentally developed, by example or advice of benevolent individuals. In the outcry which the most zealous advocates of missions have inconsiderately indulged against the pioneers of civilisation among savage races, they have blinded many to the real obligations which the missionary in particular owes them. They looked only at the pockmarks which foul a fair countenance, regardless of the healthy cuticle beneath. Wherever commerce has not preceded missions, their introduction has been at the expense of much suffering, and the loss of valuable lives. Example, expostulation, and judicious reproof did much for the Hawaiians; the many cases where the whole influence of foreigners was exerted to ameliorate the general condition of suffering savages, cannot be all recorded. Much as was accomplished in this way, it must be acknowledged the result

was small, compared with the greater influence of a selfishness which cherished order and an external hospitality as the best means of promoting its own interests.

The example of the southern groups, in the destruction of their idols, added much to the spreading disbelief. Incontestable evidences of the falsity of their oracles, together with the increasing inconvenience of their absurd rites, confirmed the scepticism. Those interested in the continuance of paganism, redoubled their efforts; threats, prophecies and promises were freely uttered, and as freely falsified by their own failure. Like Laocoon and his offspring in the folds of the serpent, heathenism writhed and gasped, each moment growing fainter, under the strangling embrace of public opinion. Foreigners conformed to none of their rites, yet they lived and prospered; their own countrymen who had gone abroad, lived in equal disregard of their ritual, and with like impunity. Individually, their memories convicted them of frequently breaking tabus, yet no evil had overtaken them, for they were unknown to the priests. Men and women had eaten together, and of forbidden food; still the predicted judgments slept; their priests must be as the foreigners described them, liars, and the tabu system altogether foolish and contemptible. Drunken chiefs often had violated the most sacred injunctions; no vengeance overtook them; the female rulers had of late broken through all restrictions, yet prosperity and health were still theirs. They encouraged others to do the same; and in this way the conviction of the folly of supporting an oppressive and corrupt faith for the benefit of a few, daily strengthened.

On the very day of Kamehameha's death, a woman eat a cocoa-nut with impunity, and certain families displayed their contempt for these laws, by feasting in common.

Liholiho remained ten days at Kohala, while the body of his father was being dissected. He then returned to Kailua, and on the second day after his arrival, the chiefs and inha-

bitants were collected to witness his induction into office.* He appeared in great state, dressed in rich clothing, with a

* A list of the principal chiefs comprising the court of Kamehameha II, with their respective ranks, is necessary clearly to understand their relative situations and the stations they ultimately filled.

Kamehameha II (Liholiho) king of all the group.
Ksuikeaouli, his younger brother
Nahienaena, " sister,
} Keopuolani, queen mother.

Kaahumanu, (second in authority) dowager queen, and guardian of the kingdom.

Kalakua (Hoapili wahine,)
Namahama,
} also former wives of Kamehameha I.

Kamamalu,
Kinau,
Kekauluohi, or Auhea
Pauahi,
Kekauonohi,
} Queens of Liholiho. The first three were daughters of his father by Kalakua.

Kaumualii, king of Kaui and Niihau.

Kealiiahonui, his son.

Kapuli, queen of Kauai.

Kalaimoku, (William Pitt) originally of mean rank, but from his abilities promoted to fill the highest stations. He was prime minister, and, next to the king, the most influential man in the kingdom.

Lilihoku, his son.

Kaikoewa, guardian of the prince.

Keaweamahi, his wife.

Hoapili, guardian of Nahienaena.

Naihe, hereditary counsellor and national orator.

Kapiolani, his wife.

Kuakini, (John Adams) governor of Hawaii.
Keeaumoku, (Cox) governor of Maui and its dependencies.
} These two were sons of Kamehameha's famous warrior and counsellor Keeaumoku, brothers also of Kaahumanu, Kalakua, and Namahama; all descended from the royal family of Maui.

Boki, governor of Oahu, brother of Kalaimoku.

Liliha, his wife.

Wahinepio, sister of Kalaimoku, mother of the queen Kekauonohi.

Kahalaia, her son, and nephew of Kamehameha I.

Kapihe, commander of the king's vessels.

Kekuanaoa, superintendent of sandal-wood, and treasurer to the king.

Kakio,
Kehekili,
} brothers descended from the last king of Maui, and said to have Spanish blood in their veins.

Ji,
Laanui
Puaa,
Kaliakoa
} all of these were *puna-hele*, or bosom companions of the king.

Besides these names the chiefs had a multitude of others, which answered for titles. They were frequently changed or assumed from trifling circumstances. The English appellations were bestowed by visitors. The Hawaiian names are highly figurative, and generally derived from some particular event which they were desirous of commemorating.

feather mantle over his shoulders, and surrounded by a brilliant retinue. The kingdom was transferred to him by Kaahumanu, with the injunction of Kamehameha, that if he should not conduct himself worthily, the supreme power should devolve upon her. She also proclaimed it as the will of the late king, that he should share the administration with her, to which he assented. As this haughty queen-dowager had always retained her influence over her husband, she had taken the precaution to secure to herself an authority equal to the king's, to the exclusion of the more legitimate rights of Keopuolani, who, being a conquered chief, was, perhaps, regarded in a less favourable light. As it was universally acquiesced in, it must have been considered the true exposition of the commands of the deceased sovereign. This singular feature of a double executive, mutually checking or strengthening, without the sanction of both no act becoming valid, neither responsible but in joint operations, has been retained to this day; and the powers and limitations of both defined by written law. It is an anomaly in governments, but the principle is so well understood and recognized by the Hawaiians, that the harmony of the kingdom has never been endangered. By interest and blood, these personages are closely allied, and mutual convenience cements the tie. The king is the lawful ruler and proprietor of all the islands, the negotiator in foreign relations; the queen-mother is at the head of the internal policy, chief counsellor, and in the king's

Kamehameha signified "*the lonely one*;" Keopuolani, "*the gathering of the clouds of the heavens*;" Kaulkeaouli, "*hanging in the blue sky*;" Kamamalu, "*the shade of the lonely one*;"—a name assumed after the death of her father; Hoapili, "*close adhering companion*, from the mutual friendship which existed between the old king and himself; Kaahumanu, "*the feather mantle*;" Liliha, "*the fat of hogs*;" Auhea, literally "*where*," from her mournful repetition of this word, after the decease of Kamehameha; Kapiolani, "*the captive of heaven*;" Kalakua, "*the way of the gods*;" Kahekili, "*thunder*;" Paalua, a name of Kalaimoku's, "*twice blind*;" expressing his grief by saying, he had lost his eyes for the deaths of Kamehameha and a favourite wife. Many of these nobles were remarkable for their corpulency. Some weighed from three hundred to four hundred pounds. Others were of herculean stature and strength, and well proportioned.

absence, or death, acts as guardian for the heir, and becomes the responsible agent. This office originated in the affection of Kamehameha for his favourite queen, and the necessity of a check upon the heedless passions of his son. Liholiho was crowned, and received the title of Kamehameha II.

After the mourning for his father had subsided, the new monarch went to reside at Kawaihae, in deference to a superstition, which considered a place defiled by the death of a king. Perceiving its folly, yet wavering between old fears and new desires, he was undecided as to his course. On the one hand the priests exerted themselves to restore his credulity, while Kaahumanu and Kalaimoku influenced him to a more liberal policy. The latter for awhile prevailed, and Keopuolani urged him to eat in violation of the tabu, setting the example herself, with his younger brother. Liholiho, still wavering, temporarily returned to heathen rites, and assisted at a sacred festival, though indulging with his train, in revelry and drunkenness. He also consecrated a heiau to his god at Honokohau.

In August, 1819, the French corvette, L'Uranie, M. Freycinet, commander, arrived, and remained a few days. Kalaimoku, (Billy Pitt as he was familiarly called,) then prime minister, was induced to receive the rites of baptism, at Honolulu, according to the formula of the Romish Church. Boki, his brother, followed his example; neither had any clear comprehension of its meaning or design; both, after exchanging presents with Freycinet, returned to their usual idolatrous practices. Unintelligible as was this ceremony to them, it served to prepare their minds for further innovations. Kaahumanu, determined in her opposition to the priests, prepared for decisive measures. In November, she sent word to the king, that upon his arrival at Kailua, she should cast aside his god. To this he made no objection, and with his retainers pushed off in canoes from the shore, and remained on the water two days, indulging in a drunken revel. On the last evening, Kaahumanu despatched a double

canoe for him, in which he was brought to Kailua. Between them matters were arranged for the further development of their designs. He then smoked and drank with the female chiefs. A feast was prepared, after the customs of the country, with separate tables for the sexes. A number of foreigners were entertained at the king's. When all were in their seats, he deliberately arose, went to the place reserved for the women, and seated himself among them. To complete the horror of the superstitious, he indulged his appetite in freely partaking of the viands prepared for them, directing them to do likewise; but with a violence which showed he had but half divested himself of the idea of sacrilege and habitual repugnance. This act was sufficient; the highest had set an example, which all rejoiced to follow. The gladdening cry arose, "The tabu is broken! the tabu is broken!" Feasts were provided for all, at which both sexes indiscriminately indulged. Orders were issued to demolish the heiaus, and destroy the idols; temples, images and sacred property were burnt; the flames consumed the sacred relics of ages. The high-priest, Hewahewa, who was the first to apply the torch, and without whose co-operation the attempt to revolutionize the old system would have been ineffectual, resigned his office. Numbers of his profession, joining in the enthusiasm, followed his example. Idolatry was abolished by law; Kaumualii cordially gave his sanction, and all the islands uniting in an exulting jubilee at their deliverance, presented the singular spectacle of a nation without a religion.

The character of the people at this period was peculiar. Superstition had been robbed of many of its terrors, and the general standard of morality had increased. The most repulsive trait was the universal licentiousness; not greater than existed a century before, but made a shameless traffic. Although the majority of the idols were destroyed, yet some were secretly preserved and worshipped. Centuries of spiritual degradation were not to be removed by the excitement of a day, or the edict of a ruler. Its interested advocates

were not to be subdued without a fierce struggle. Availing themselves of their influence, they aroused the fears of multitudes; defection arose in the court, and some of its prominent members deserted Liholiho, and joined Kekuokalani, a nephew of Kamehameha. Being second in priestly rank only to Hewahewa, he was incited to erect the standard of revolt. In case of success, the crown was to fall to him. Those who regretted the old system, or were dissatisfied with the existing government, gathered about him, and he soon became popular, as the defender of their ancient faith, and the protector of the oppressed. His mother endeavoured to induce him to return to loyalty, but, urged on by his partisans, who had committed themselves too far to retract, he turned a deaf ear to her entreaties. A skirmish ensued, in which the loyalists were worsted.

The news reaching the king, a consultation was held, in which Kalaimoku urged an immediate attack, with all their force, upon Kaawaloa, the head-quarters of the enemy, and by a decisive blow to crush the insurrection before it had become formidable. It was determined, however, first to attempt conciliatory measures; Hoapili and Naine were appointed ambassadors. Keopuolani volunteered to accompany them. They reached the camp of Kekuokalani the same evening, and used every endeavour to effect an amicable settlement. Hoapili urged his relationship, for he was his uncle, and offered to leave the heathen worship optional with his partisans. This argument proved unavailing; and such was the rage and excitement of the rebels, that they considered themselves fortunate to escape with their lives. Kekuokalani's forces marched that night on Kailua, with the intention of surprising it; but the ambassadors arrived first, and gave notice of their intentions. The royal army prepared for action under the command of Kalaimoku. The armies met at Kuamoo; the engagement commenceed in favour of the rebels, and had their fire-arms been equal to those of their adversaries, the day would have been decided in their favour; but a charge

of the royal troops drove them, with slaughter, toward the sea-side, near which, under cover of a stone wall, they made for some time a successful resistance. A squadron of double canoes, in one of which was a mounted swivel, under the charge of a foreigner, sailed along the coast, and their shot enfilading the rebels, did considerable execution and created disorder in their ranks. The fleet was under the command of Kaahumanu and Kalakua; the women then, as anciently, engaging freely in battle.

Kekuokalani, though early wounded, gallantly continued the contest, and several times rallied his flying soldiers, but was at last struck down by a musket-ball. Manona, his wife, during the whole action, courageously fought by his side; seeing him fall, she was in the act of calling for quarter to Kalaimoku and his sister, who were approaching, when a ball struck her on the temple, and she fell and expired upon the body of her husband. After this, the idolaters made but feeble resistance, though the action continued ten hours, until all the rebels had fled or surrendered. The leaders mostly perished, true to their cause. The victors carried their arms to Waimea, where another body of insurgents had taken the field; these were quickly subdued, and the king used his success with such moderation, that the whole island returned to its allegiance. About fifty of the rebels and ten of the royalists were killed.

Before the news of these remarkable events reached the United States, an interest was awakened in the religious public, for the purpose of conveying to these islands the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Some Hawaiian youths, who had spent several years in that country, and ardently desired to carry the blessings of Christianity to their countrymen, increased this interest. Among them was George Kaumualii, son of the ruler of Kauai, who had been sent when a mere lad to the United States, to secure an education. The sea-captain who had him in charge died suddenly, and the funds provided for his expenses were lost. George thus cast

upon his own resources, led an erratic life, and finally shipped on board of a United States' vessel, served during the war, and, in 1814, was discharged at Charlestown. Here he was recognised by some benevolent individuals, who sent him to school, where he made respectable progress. His father had often expressed a wish for the arrival of teachers to instruct his people, in which desire he had been joined by several other chiefs; and he had expected good results from the education of his son. A letter had been received from him, written at school, in which he adjured his parents to renounce idolatry.

On the 30th of March, 1820, the first missionaries arrived at Hawaii. The cheering intelligence of the abolition of idolatry, and the favourable condition of the nation for the reception of a new religion, reached them that evening. They were kindly received, and Kalaimoku and the two dowager queens, on the first of April, made them a visit on board their vessel, the Thaddeus. On this occasion they were neatly dressed in foreign costume, and their urbanity made a favourable impression on the missionaries. April 4th, the brig anchored at Kailua; they met with a hospitable reception from Kuakini (John Adams), who spoke English, and who seemed pleased at their arrival. Hewahewa* was cordial in his welcome to his "*brother priests*," as he called

* In a conversation with a gentleman then on board the Thaddeus, now a merchant of Boston, Hewahewa related the method by which the king and himself came to understand each other relative to the destruction of the idols and their rites. So great was the fear that then existed upon the subject, that although each suspected the desires of the other, neither dared openly avow them. The conversation was opened as follows: "What do you think of the tabus?" Which was replied to by a similar interrogatory. *King*—"Do you think it well to break them?" *Priest*—"That lies with you." *King*, (again)—"It is as you say." And in this manner endeavouring to penetrate each other's sentiments they were led to the expression of their thoughts. He was then asked what produced this change in him. "I knew," said he, "that the wooden images of our deities, carved by our own hands, were incapable of supplying our wants, but worshipped them because it was the custom of our fathers; they made not the *kalo* to grow, nor sent us rain; neither did they bestow life or health. My thought has always been, 'Akahi waleno Akua-nui iloko o ka-lani'"—there is 'one only Great God dwelling in the heavens.'"

them. He possessed an uncommon liberality of mind; five months before he had counselled the king to destroy the idols he publicly renounced heathenism himself, and acknowledged his belief in one Supreme Being.

By an old regulation, no foreigner was allowed permanently to remain without the consent of the king and his council. The missionaries made no attempt to settle on shore, until the free consent of the government had been formally obtained. Prejudices had been imbibed in regard to their intentions, from evil-disposed persons, who had represented that the government of England would be displeased if missionaries from America were received; and that they intended eventually to monopolize both trade and political power. In a full meeting of the principal chiefs, these objections were overruled, and the missionaries, after a detention on board the brig of two weeks, allowed to settle among the islands for one year, with the understanding that if they proved unworthy, they were to be sent away. Kaahumanu and Kalaimoku were their chief patrons; the king, though friendly, was considerably influenced by vicious whites in his train, who foresaw that as knowledge increased, their importance and occupations would be lost. They were men also of too vile characters to look with favour on teachers of a religion pure and undefiled. The principal of these intriguers was John Rives, a low Frenchman, who occupied the offices of cook, boot-black, secretary and boon companion, as the inclination of the king permitted. This man had the address, assisted by the influence of certain Englishmen, who were jealous of the prosperity of the Americans, to procure an edict for the expulsion of all residents of that nation. They were ordered to leave the islands by the first vessel, and the missionaries were expected to follow at the end of their year of probation. Neither, however, were effected.

In their interests for the spiritual welfare of the Hawaiians, the friends of the mission had not been unmindful of their physical improvement. Among the number of the first band;

were a mechanic, physician, farmer, and printer; also three clergymen, Messrs. Bingham, Thurston, and Ruggles. All brought families, and their wives were the first civilised women who landed on these islands; much was expected from their exertions in setting examples of well-regulated households, the pleasures of domestic life, and the beneficent influence of Christianity, particularly in ameliorating and elevating the condition of their sex.* Notwithstanding the licentious dispositions of the islanders, but one instance of an insult to a white female ever occurred. This happened at Kailua, soon after their arrival, when a native, smitten by the charms of one of their number, behaved with a rudeness which caused alarm. He was taken away, and Liholiho, by the advice of the foreigners present, determined to put the fellow to death, but at the intercession of the husband of the insulted lady, spared his life. Mr. Thurston remained at this place. Mr. Bingham, with several of the others, proceeded to Honolulu, and there met with a kind reception from the foreigners, though the governor, Boki, received them with a degree of apathy, though by no means unfriendly. Messrs. Ruggles and Whitney sailed for Kauai, with George Kaumualii. When the intelligence of his arrival reached the king, he fired a salute of twenty-one guns, and manifested the utmost joy at once again embracing his son. He expressed great pleasure at the arrival of the missionaries, and engaged to provide liberally for them. From this time to his death, he remained their stedfast friend. To the captain of the brig he made

* The islanders thus expressed their opinion of the females:—"They are white, and have hats with a spout; their faces are round and far in; their necks are long; they look well. They were called the "*aioe oe*," "long-necked." In their curiosity, they followed them about in crowds, peering under their bonnets, and taking many liberties in handling their dress, which was permitted, as no offence was intended. When the missionaries first engaged in prayer, closing their eyes according to custom, the natives fled, imagining them to be sorcerers, engaged in praying them to death. The Holy Trinity was considered as three distinct gods, to whom they gave the names of Kane, Kanaloa, and Maui; and their first conceptions of the doctrines of Christianity were exceedingly rude, and imbued with the gross ideas of their old theology.

valuable presents ; on George he conferred the second station in importance in his kingdom ; gave him chests of clothing, the fort at Waimea, and finally a large and fertile valley. These distinctions elated the youth, though he continued disposed to serve his friends, and lived after a civilised manner. His father, to induce the settlement of all the missionaries with him, offered to build houses for them, for schools and for places of worship ; also to use his authority in causing his people to respect the Sabbath, and attend their teachings. Messrs. Whitney and Ruggles, in July, took up their residence upon his island.

At Oahu, the foreigners subscribed six hundred dollars for a school fund for orphan children ; several manifested kindness and attention to the wants of the missionaries, a desire to aid them in their labours, and made laudable exertions for the education of their families.

The chiefs made many requests for artisans to instruct their people, with offers to support them handsomely. Their applications were forwarded to the United States. The zeal of the king for instruction was truly royal ; none of the common people were at first permitted to learn to read. In accordance with their ideas, knowledge, with the other good things of life, were the birthright of rank. The progress of several of the chiefs was rapid.. In July, Liholiho could read intelligibly ; in November four schools, containing one hundred pupils, were established.

In the autumn of this year, Liholiho removed with his court to Lahaina, and soon after to Maui. With his usual wayward disposition, he soon paid but little attention to his studies, and spent most of his time in revelry. He acquired learning rapidly, and his knowledge of geography, the customs, productions, and governments of other countries was considerable. The worthless vagabonds about him, occasionally took advantage of his inquisitiveness, and corrupted his mind by teaching him the basest phrases of their own language ; they freely supplied him with rum, and stimulated his thirst for

ardent spirits and gambling. At times he would spend many hours at his desk; and when not under the effects of liquor, was kind and affable. But his dissipation lead to ruinous debts; the rich stores and treasures of his father were squandered on favourites, and the monopoly of the sandal-wood trade carried to such an extent as to produce the most disastrous consequences. The favourites, availing themselves of moments of riot, obtained orders which the people were obliged to execute, for their personal benefit. Under the patronage of this weak and pleasure-loving king, the whole court became corrupted, and aggravated misery the lot of the common orders. Days were spent in bestial drunkenness, debauchery, dancing, gambling, and all their attendant crimes. While intoxicated, the king purchased largely of foreigners; profusely bestowed gifts of broadcloths, richest silks and satins, and the most costly goods upon his retainers. Vessels were bought on credit, for large sums; heavy debts were contracted; monopolies created; taxation carried to its utmost bounds; not a fowl or vegetable could be sold without a premium paid to the chiefs. Vast quantities of sandal-wood were collected and sold, but the debts augmented. The uniform and equalised system of Kamehameha I, was corrupted; instead of one humane task-master, a thousand tyrants sprung into existence; the same confusion which prevailed in court, spread elsewhere; the avarice, wants, and dissipation of the chiefs increased as their resources diminished; and taxation, exposure, and tyranny daily carried disease and death into the households of the tenantry. This infatuation prevailed during Liholiho's reign, and until the conversion of some of the principal chiefs. In the figurative tongue of Hawaii, rum was a "poison god," debt "a moth" which consumed the islands.

As the influence of the missionaries began to be felt, a counteracting spirit was manifested, not among the natives, for, though somewhat influenced by the misrepresentations and calumnies of certain foreigners, they respected their

motives and character. To those who had lived long away from moral restraint, the example and preaching of pious men could not be acceptable. Hence the origin of the enmity towards the mission, confined, at its commencement, to the class whose depraved appetites, or selfish interests, were affected by an increase of virtue and knowledge. Some had the manliness and perception to foresee the true results, and cultivated an amity which was mutually beneficial. Respect was shown to the Sabbath, and the moral requirements of religion gradually observed; in the progress of civilisation and Christianity they perceived real advantages even to worldly pursuits. Untiring kindness gained the good will of others, and the forbearance practised under injuries could not but increase the respect of all; but outcasts from all civilised lands, for there were such there at that period, who hesitated not to prostitute their own offspring; men who were naturally vicious and licentious, and had engrafted on their own prolific stock the evil practices of savages, were not calculated to look with favourable eyes upon those who hesitated not to call sin and crime by their legitimate names.

At an annual entertainment given in honour of his deceased father, at Kailua, in 1829, Liholiho invited all the mission family, and at his request thanks were offered to God, the bestower of all blessings. Kaumualii and his wife commenced their studies. In April, 1821, this king planned a voyage to Tahiti. He was desirous of opening a friendly intercourse with Pomare, to inspect the results of missionary enterprise, and to procure valuable and useful exotics for his island. He selected for the voyage a fine brig belonging to him, lying in Waimea roads. At his request two of the missionaries were to be in his suite. After every preparation had been made, the calumnies of a few foreigners, who represented the Tahiti missionaries as great hypocrites, and wholly unworthy of credit, and that the port charges would be ten thousand dollars, induced him to relinquish the undertaking. At Honolulu some uneasiness was expressed by the people, on

account of a cellar that was being dug for Mr. Bingham's house. It was reported to be designed for a secret magazine of arms, and that a conspiracy was intended, in which the royal family were to be slaughtered. But stories so preposterous recoiled upon their authors. Before the expiration of the year the chiefs were satisfied with the designs and intentions of the mission, and requested them to send for a reinforcement.

Two Russian ships of war entered Honolulu harbour, April 2d, 1821. The officers were entertained on board "The Pride of Hawaii," his majesty's flag-ship; formerly the "Cleopatra's barge," a beautiful yacht. In return, the king dined with the commodore, receiving the honours of his rank.

In July Liholiho made the voyage to Kauai in an open boat. Having become somewhat jealous of Kaumualii, principally on account of a letter he received from George, in which he was addressed simply as "King of the Windward Islands," he determined to visit him. Accordingly, without disclosing his intention, he left Honolulu for Ewa on the 21st, with Boki, Naihe, and about thirty attendants, including two women. Having arrived off that place, the wind being fair, he ordered the helmsman to steer for Kauai. The chiefs expostulated, but to no purpose; the boatmen were frightened; they had neither water, provisions, chart, or compass; the island was one hundred miles distant; the channel rough, and the wind strong. Moreover, Kaumualii might prove hostile, and crush their little party. Such reasons affected him not a whit. Half intoxicated, the whim had seized upon him, and, reckless of consequences, he sternly ordered them on. Although he had never been at Kauai, he had a correct idea of its position; and spreading out his fingers, to represent the different points of the compass, naming them in broken English, he directed the course of the boat. Twice was she nearly capsized and ready to sink. His people begged him to put back. "No," said the resolute king;

"bail out the water, and go on; if you return with the boat, I will swim to Kauai." By vigorously plying their calabashes they kept her free from water, and continued their course, steering well to the northward. Just before dark the island was discovered bearing several points on the lee-bow. Putting their craft before the wind they ran for it, though at considerable hazard from the sea, which continually broke over them. Early the next morning, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they came to off the coast. As soon as Kaumualii was apprised of the circumstance he hurried on board, and welcomed him to his dominions. A commodious house was prepared for him, and a brig and schooner despatched to Oahu to relieve the apprehensions of his subjects, and to bring two of his wives, with their retinues. Liliha, Boki's wife, arrived on the 23d, with four attendants, having made the voyage in a small canoe, in the management of which the natives are much more skilful than of boats; easily righting and freeing them from water when overset. The king was highly delighted with her adventurous courage.

The forbearance of Kaumualii, when Liholiho was so completely in his power, is remarkable. Instead of making it an occasion of demanding the acknowledgment of his independence, or other confirmation of his present authority, with a spirit faithful to the very letter of his agreement with Kamehameha I., he voluntarily proposed a formal surrender of his kingdom to his guest. With much emotion he addressed him in the following terms: "King Liholiho, hear!—When your father was alive, I acknowledged him as my superior. Since his death I have considered you his rightful successor, and, according to his appointment, king. I have many muskets and men, and much powder; these, with my vessels, the fort, guns, and the island, all are yours. Do with them as you please. Send me where you please. Place what chief you please as governor here."* Naihe next addressed the assembled chiefs, and confirmed the dependence of Kaumualii to

* Vol. XVIII. Missionary Herald, p. 244.

Kamehameha I. A deep silence prevailed, and all awaited with anxiety the reply of the monarch. With a mildness and suavity that deceived every one he spoke as follows: "I did not come to take away your island. I do not wish to place any one over it. Keep your island, and take care of it just as you have done, and do what you please with your vessels." A shout of approbation resounded on all sides, and the magnanimity of both was highly lauded. After this scene Liholiho indulged in a debauch, while Kaumualii was assiduous in his endeavours to please his royal visitor. The insincerity and real designs of the former were soon manifested. His beautiful vessel, "Haaheo ö Hawaii," (Pride of Hawaii,) arrived, with the expected chiefs. Kaumualii was invited on board: when seated in the cabin, orders were secretly issued to make sail, and the generous and faithful king was made a state prisoner, and borne from his dominions, which were entrusted to the guardianship of Keeaumoku, (Governor Cox.) On the arrival of the royal parties at Honolulu, Kaumualii was compelled to part from his favourite Kapuli, and marry the imperious Kaahumanu. His title was continued to him, but with it no authority. After this dishonourable transaction, Liholiho proceeded to Hawaii. Kaahumanu also took to husband Kealiiahonui, the son and heir of Kaumualii, thus holding father and son in her chains, which, at that period, were not altogether silken.

August 15, 1821, the first building erected on the islands for the service of Christianity, was dedicated at Honolulu. It was a small thatched edifice.

Liholiho continued in his profligacy, occasionally manifesting a desire for better things. To the arguments of a missionary, who urged him to reform, he replied, "Five years more, and I will become a good man." He became more reckless and dissipated; spending his time in carousals, in the different parts of his dominions, as his humour prompted. In a fit of jealousy he beheaded a chief.

As the sandal-wood diminished, or became more difficult

of procuring, new means of extortion were contrived, one of which, from its singularity, deserves record. Whenever a chief erected a house of better appearance than common, no one was allowed to enter it, without a gift adequate to the rank and wealth of the visitor. The chiefs, on such an occasion, would present the king with from fifty to a hundred dollars each; foreigners from twenty to thirty; and all other classes, to the lowest menial of his household, a proportionate sum. By this means, the king occasionally raised several thousand dollars—governors and chiefs lesser sums. The gross habits of the ruler infected the whole nation; female chiefs of the highest rank boarded ships in a state of entire nudity, and not unfrequently visited the ladies of the mission in that condition, in the presence of the other sex. The saturnalian practices of all orders were too vile even to be alluded to; all the variety and indecency that lewdness and drunkenness could accomplish, were to be seen. At the present day, it is almost impossible to credit that such was ever the case; but the testimony is undoubted.

The first experiment in printing was made on the 7th of January, 1822. Keeaumoku was present. He assisted in setting up the types, and in taking a few impressions of the first sheet of the Hawaiian spelling-book. The king, chiefs, and foreigners generally, took a deep interest in the success of this enterprise. The missionaries employed themselves assiduously during the first part of this year, in forming the Hawaiian alphabet upon the basis of a plan furnished them by the Hon. John Pickering, of Boston. The vowel sounds were the same as those employed in his alphabet of Indian languages. Printing gave a new impulse to the desire of knowledge among the chiefs. Kuakini, Kamamalu, Keeaumoku, and others, applied themselves diligently to learn to read and write. Liholiho again enlisted himself as a regular pupil; his brother and sister also became scholars. Even Kaahumanu shared in the general enthusiasm, and laid

aside her cards for her alphabet. Others of lesser note followed the example of the royal family, and the schools flourished. The king was able in a few months to write legibly. In September, five hundred pupils were receiving instruction.

The arrival at Oahu, in April, of Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet, deputized by the London Mission Society to visit all missionary stations, and the Rev. W. Ellis, a Tahitian missionary, with Auna, a converted chief of that nation, and his train, proved of much service to the American mission. By their efforts, the misunderstanding of their objects, which had been so industriously cultivated by inimical persons, was counteracted. Intelligent and influential Englishmen were found who countenanced its objects, which they would not have done, were they apprehensive of any sinister designs upon the islands by a rival nation. The people themselves could not believe that those who came with their families, indulged in ambitious or hostile views. Warlike designs and operations received no encouragement from the presence of females. At the joint request of the American mission and the chiefs, Mr. Ellis consented to return with his family and remain one year. By this act, the last lingerings of jealousy were dissipated, as it was seen that the benevolent of both nations united in labouring for their welfare. The sentiment that England was their protector, and exercised a species of guardianship over their country, still extensively prevailed, and was kept alive by acts of national courtesy, and the interested views of English traders, who wished to secure a superiority over other nations in mercantile transactions. The chiefs themselves, from their regard for Vancouver, and a desire of increasing their national importance, were not averse to an alliance, even if it implied some degree of vassalage; though their disposition to acknowledge themselves solely and wholly British subjects, was doubtless, exaggerated. Their intercourse, from the commencement of the century, had been mostly with Americans,

and their predilections toward that nation, despite the calumnies of Englishmen, gradually increasing. When the deputation arrived, they found nearly forty ships at anchor at Hawaii and Oahu, nearly all of which were whalers from the United States.

The English government uniformly manifested a courtesy toward the islanders, that was highly honourable. Without asserting a claim to the islands, they recognised their nationality by numerous acts of courtesy, and encouragement toward civilisation. On the first of May of this year, Captain Kent presented to Liholiho a schooner of seventy tons, called the Prince Regent, fully rigged and coppered, with an armament of six guns, in the name of his Britannic Majesty. This was the long-promised vessel of Vancouver to Kamehameha; a gift which unfortunately neither he or his royal friend had the satisfaction of seeing accomplished.

On Sunday, May 6th, Liholiho celebrated his accession to office, with a mixture of barbaric pomp and attention to civilised customs, which showed how rapidly the latter were becoming naturalized. Salutes were fired from ships and batteries, and national flags displayed from all the vessels in port. Great quantities of clothing were distributed, in which the soldiers and attendants made a respectable, though incongruous spectacle. Gaudily coloured uniforms, richly bedizened with gold lace; chapeaux, boots, plumes, silk stockings, satins, velvets, broadcloths, tapas, and calicoes; gold watches, canes, and jewellery; feather cloaks, helmets, and *kahilis*, were seen in the throng. Some wore dresses fashioned by foreign artisans; others, a mixture of the past and present costumes. Brilliant silks encircled the waists of portly dames, with many folds, while flower wreaths, or hair necklaces, negligently rested upon their exposed bosoms. A dinner was prepared and served in European style; and throughout the whole, notwithstanding the quantity of ardent spirits consumed, an unusual decorum prevailed. Eighty

dogs formed a portion of the viands. The common orders indulged in excesses of the vilest description.

The anniversary of the national independence of the United States of North America, was celebrated on the fourth of July, in a more rational manner. An oration was delivered in the mission chapel, by J. C. Jones, Esq., acting American consul, and a poem recited by Mr. Bingham. A prayer was also offered, and a psalm sung. After which the company adjourned to a public dinner, the king, with the principal foreign residents, being present.

The first Christian marriage was celebrated, August 11, between two converted natives. On the 13th, Kaumualii and Kaahumanu, with a retinue of nearly twelve hundred people, sailed for Kauai. Four small vessels conveyed this multitude, which crowded their decks, and even occupied the chains, tops and bowsprits. Previous to their departure, Kaahumanu issued a general ordinance against drunkenness, which was proclaimed by public criers, throughout the town of Honolulu. The object of the voyage was to collect the annual tribute of sandal-wood. While they were on the island, the wife of the governor (Keeaumoku) died. Though none of the principal chiefs joined in the ceremonies, the heathen customs of sacrifices of animals, with chants and prayers, were practised for several successive days. In December following, they returned. A few days afterward, a young member of the royal family died, and, at the request of his relatives, received a Christian burial. It is necessary to notice many events of little interest by themselves, but proper to record, that the gradual development of the spirit of Christianity, with its frequent fluctuations, may be clearly traced.

Upon the departure of the English deputation, Captain Kent, with whom they sailed, was charged with the following letter to the King of England. Though it bears the signature of Liholiho, it was not written by him, but was supposed to convey his real sentiments. Towards the ship's company, he behaved with a liberality worthy of his father.

"*Oahu, Sandwich Islands, Aug.* 21, 1822.

"May it please your Majesty,

"In answer to your Majesty's letter from Governor Macquarrie, I beg to return your Majesty my most grateful thanks for your handsome present of the schooner, Prince Regent, which I have received at the hands of Mr. J. R. Kent.

"I avail myself of this opportunity of acquainting your Majesty of the death of my father, Kamehameha, who departed this life, the 8th of May, 1819, much lamented by his subjects; and having appointed me his successor, I have enjoyed a happy reign ever since that period; and I assure your Majesty it is my sincere wish to be thought as worthy your attention as my father had the happiness to be, during the visit of Captain Vancouver. The whole of these islands having been conquered by my father, I have succeeded to the government of them, and beg leave to place them all under the protection of your most excellent Majesty; wishing to observe peace with all nations, and to be thought worthy the confidence I place in your Majesty's wisdom and judgment.

"The former idolatrous system has been abolished in these islands, as we wish the Protestant religion of your Majesty's dominions to be practised here. I hope your Majesty may deem it fit to answer this as soon as convenient; and your Majesty's counsel and advice will be most thankfully received by your Majesty's most obedient and devoted servant,

"KAMEHAMEHA II. King of the Sandwich Islands.

"To GEORGE IV. King of England."

Notwithstanding the efforts made to induce the king entirely to abandon his studies, and give himself up once more to debauchery, he persevered and succeeded in acquiring the elements of instruction, while the truths of Christianity were acknowledged by his intellect, though set at nought by his conduct. Of their requirements he was not wholly ignorant before the arrival of the missionaries. When one of his wives, soon after the Thaddeus anchored at Kailua, urged their being permitted to remain, he jocosely observed, "If I do, I shall be obliged to put you away, for their religion allows but one wife." The interest of the other chiefs daily became more apparent. In February, 1823, they proclaimed a law for the public observance of the Sabbath, and imposed a fine of one dollar upon all who should be guilty of labour-

ing upon that day. It will be seen that all of their new legislation bore the arbitrary impress of the old. It was natural for them to suppose that by the simple promulgation of their will, the natives could be compelled to observe the new doctrines. Externally it proved the case. Multitudes became convinced of their truth and utility; with a few, they produced a thorough reformation. Among the most prominent of them was a blind bard, of the name of Puaaiki, who afterward received the baptismal name of Bartimeus. His memory is prodigious. Versed in all their former history, he became an equal adept in the instructions of the new teachers. Not a thought was uttered, or advice given, but he treasured it up. He soon became a valuable acquisition to the mission, and was qualified to impart wisdom to others. To this day, he can repeat the sermons delivered by the earliest missionaries, and his life has borne evidence of the sincerity of his conversion.

In March, 1823, Hoapili was sent with Keopuolani, whom he had married, to Maui, as governor. Puaaiki was received into their family as a domestic chaplain. Previous to this, on the 27th of April, the ship Thames arrived from America, bringing a large missionary reinforcement. They were cordially welcomed; some of the chiefs were really desirous of securing them in their families as religious teachers, while all received them as public benefactors. The utility of writing, by the knowledge of which their orders were transmitted with so much ease and accuracy, with other useful arts derived from the mission, had created a powerful revolution in their favour. All the distrust which had been so signally manifested in 1820, was now removed. Liholiho, notwithstanding his constant strait for money, remitted the harbour fees, amounting to one hundred and sixty dollars, both to the vessel that brought Mr. Ellis, and the Thames. To the captain of the latter he addressed a letter, of which the following is a literal translation:—

"To Captain Clasby:

"Love to you. This is my communication to you. You have done well in bringing hither the new teachers. You shall pay nothing on account of the harbour—no, nothing at all.

"Grateful affection to you.

"LIHOLIHO IOLANI."*

On the 26th of the same month, his majesty held his annual festival in celebration of the death of Kamehameha I. On this occasion he provided a dinner in a rural bower, for two hundred individuals. The missionaries and all respectable foreigners were present; and the dresses were an improvement upon the costume of the preceding year. Black was the court colour, and every individual was required to be clothed in its sombre hue. Kamamalu appeared greatly to advantage. The company were all liberally provided for by her attentions, and even a party of sailors, to the number of two hundred, who were looking on with wistful eyes, were served with refreshments. While at the table, a procession of four hundred natives appeared in single file, clad in white, and deposited their taxes at the feet of the king. The festival was prolonged for several days, and was concluded by a procession in honour of his five queens. Its ceremonies were striking and interesting: the more so as being the last national exhibition of their more ancient customs, combined with the splendour derived from commerce, and arranged by their taste. Kamamalu was the most conspicuous personage in the ranks.† She was seated in a whale-boat, placed upon a frame of wicker-work, borne on the shoulders of seventy men. The boat and the platform, which was thirty feet long by twelve wide, were overspread with costly broadcloth, relieved by the richest coloured and most beautiful samples of tapas. The carriers marched in a solid phalanx, the outer ranks of which wore a uniform of yellow and scarlet feather cloaks, and superb helmets of the same material. This queen's dress was a scarlet silk mantle, and a feather coro-

* A favourite name of his. † Stewart's Journal, p. 91.

net. An immense Chinese umbrella, richly gilded and decorated with tassels and fringes of the same gaudy colour, supported by a chief, wearing a helmet, screened her from the sun. Kalaimoku and Naihe stood behind her on either quarter of the boat, both in *malos*, or girdles of scarlet-coloured silk, and lofty helmets. Each bore a *kahili*, the staff of royalty; these were nearly thirty feet high, the upper part being arranged so as to form a column or plume of scarlet feathers of a foot and a half in diameter, and from twelve to fourteen feet long; the handles were surrounded with alternate ivory and tortoiseshell rings, beautifully wrought and highly polished. A more magnificent insignia of rank, conveying at once the ideas of grandeur, state and beauty, as they towered and gracefully nodded above the multitude, was never devised by barbarians.

Kinau and Kekauonohi appeared in similar pomp, and in lieu of a boat were mounted upon double canoes. The prince and princess wore simply the native costume; the *malo* and *pau*, made from scarlet silk. Their carriage consisted of four Chinese field-bedsteads, fastened together, covered with handsome native cloth, and surmounted with canopies and drapery of yellow figured moreen. Hoapili and Kaikoewa, the one bearing a dish of baked dog, the other a calabash of poi, and another of raw fish, the prime articles of Hawaiian diet, followed them as servants; this was indicative of their comparative relations to the royal children, notwithstanding their own proud lineage and high offices; the former being their step-father, and the latter their guardian.

The dresses of the queens-dowager were remarkable for their size and expense. Seventy-two yards of cassimere of double fold, one half being orange and the other scarlet, were wrapped around the figure of one, till her arms were supported by the mass in a horizontal position, while the remainder, forming an extensive train, was supported by a retinue selected for that purpose.

Pauahi, when an infant, experienced a narrow escape from

being burnt to death, from an accidental ignition of gunpowder, by which five men were killed, her house destroyed, and she badly injured. Hence her name, "*pau*," completed, and "*ahi*," fire. To commemorate this event, after performing her part in the procession, she alighted from her couch and set it on fire, with all its expensive decorations; reserving only a handkerchief, as an apology for a covering, she threw all of her dress into the flames; her attendants imitated her example, and a valuable amount of cloth, both native and foreign, was consumed.

The richness and variety of the dresses and colours, and the exhibition of the wealth and power of the chiefs, their hereditary symbols of rank, the stately *kihilis*, splendid cloaks and helmets, and necklaces of feathers, intermingled with the brilliant hues and deep green of the flowers and wreaths from their native forests, rendered the spectacle at once unique and attractive. Groups of dancers and singers, to the number of many hundred, ever and anon met the procession, enthusiastically shouting their adulations in the willing ears of their chiefs. The beating of drums, and other rude music, swelled the wild notes of their songs, and the acclamations of thousands of voices, with the heavy tramp of their feet, broke in upon the deep-toned choruses and thrilling responses. Amid the throng, the king, with his suite, excited by the revelry of a week's duration, mounted upon saddleless horses, rode recklessly about; a body-guard of fifty men, dressed in shabby uniform, followed by a multitude, shouting and hooting, endeavoured to keep pace with the royal troop.

In September, Keopuoloni was taken ill; all the principal chiefs assembled at Lahaina, and wailed around her couch. As her disease gained ground, the utmost affection and grief were manifested by all classes. Among the people, alarm for the consequences of her death prevailed. Being the highest female chief, the usual excesses were expected universally to ensue. Many natives fled to the mountains; the

foreigners prepared to retreat to the shipping, and urged the missionaries to follow their example. For a year previous, Keopuolani had expressed a deep interest in the instructions of the missionaries, and her deportment gave evidence of a decided change of character. Having given sincere proofs of her conversion, the rites of baptism were administered. Her dying counsel was directed to the religious welfare of her relatives and people. She strove to influence the king to abandon his cups, and for a few weeks he continued perfectly sober. She enjoined, and her wishes were proclaimed as laws by Liholiho and Kalaimoku, that no heathen rites should be observed at her death. So public an example, from the highest authority, of this breaking down of usages, sanctioned by the custom of centuries, proved their death-blow. Once violated, few would regret the disorder, debauchery, and crimes attending them. On the 16th she died. Her remains were interred in accordance with her desires. The deep wailings of the people were not to be suppressed; but the rites of Christian sepulture were hers. The corpse, covered with a rich pall, was borne by the five queens of Liholiho and the wife of Boki; around it were the family, as principal mourners. Chiefs and people, foreigners and missionaries, joined in the sad procession, bearing badges of mourning, while the tolling of the bell, and the firing of minute guns, proclaimed its solemn progress, until it reached the stone tomb prepared for its reception. As was customary, the relatives erected little booths in its vicinity, in which they dwelt for a season. The people of the district were employed in removing the stones of a dilapidated heiau, to form a wall round her burial place. All the chiefs, except the king and Hoapili, assisted in this labour with their own hands; and the singular spectacle was presented of the portly Kaahumanu, and her almost equally stout husband, carrying large stones, while stout men walked lazily beside them, bearing nothing but the light feathered staff, the badges of their authority.

Keopuolani was born in 1778; she had given birth to eleven children, of which Liholiho was the second. He, with the prince and princess were all that survived.

It is an ungrateful task to be obliged to record, side by side with the benevolent efforts of civilised individuals, the diabolical attempts of others to undermine their successful labours. But the full value of the one cannot be accurately appreciated, without a knowledge of the depravity of the other. In exact proportion as the mission flourished, and the doctrines of Christianity began to have a perceptible influence upon the acts of the government and the character of the nation, in like manner did the opposition of evil-loving individuals increase. Such persons, it is to be hoped, were few; but no artifice was too low for them to commit, or falsehood too gross to be circulated. In most cases, the vileness of the one, and the shallowness of the other, defeated their own intentions. As the narrative proceeds, the nature and design of the enmity to the spread of Christianity will be shown. Originating in a few worthless vagabonds, the contamination gradually spread to persons, if not of better principles, of more knowledge; and the falsities so diligently uttered by the former, found their way into journals and reviews, whose editors would have shrunk from contact with their authors, as from plague-spots, had they but known them. In no place has the triumph of the cross been more signal than at the Hawaiian islands; in none other has enmity been more bitterly manifested. Instead of adducing arguments against supposed faults of the system, or affording any tangible ground to base an attack, the characters of its advocates were assailed by the grossest calumnies, and the faith and resolution of its converts, by the most artful designs. Those who so prominently figured in these attempts had the satisfaction occasionally to witness the instructions of the benevolent made abortive; and grief, misery, and shame carried into families which else would have continued in well-doing. While the death-bed scene remained fresh in the memory of

the king, his conduct was that of a reclaimed man; but, in an evil hour, he listened to the desires of some whites, who persuaded him to visit a vessel, under the pretence of showing him some new goods. Several dinner parties had been provided for him previously on the Sabbath, which he had uniformly declined attending. But, in this instance, suspecting no sinister object, he went on board. The favourite liquors were proffered, which he refused. A bottle of cherry-brandy was then produced, an article he had never seen, and which, being told it would not intoxicate, he tasted. The insatiable thirst was aroused, and his entertainers plied the glasses until the king, requesting some to carry ashore, prepared for a revel. Not content with this, the sacred forms of religion were made a scorn and by-word. One chief was taught to call his fellow, as a nickname, Jehovah. A foreigner engaged in mock prayer before Kuakini, while another wrote the vilest words of the English language for his perusal.

Hoapili set an example of further innovation upon their customs. Instead of selecting a number of wives as soon as the corpse of his consort was removed, to be changed at will, he waited more than a month, and then was joined in matrimony to Kalakua, who took the name of Hoapiliwahine. The ceremony was performed October 19th, in church, by Mr. Richards. This was the more to his credit, as there were five candidates for his household from among the highest females.

About this time, Liholiho began to entertain a design of visiting England and the United States. Beside the natural curiosity for viewing foreign lands, he was desirous of an interview with the governments, and regulating the relations between the countries, particularly in regard to England. In October, a council was held at Lahaina, in which, after a full discussion, it was decided that his majesty should embark in an English ship, L'Aigle, Captain Starbuck. Kamamalu, his favourite wife, Boki and Liliha, Kapihe and Kekuanaoa, with

a steward and a few male servants, were to accompany him. It was the wish of the king and the chiefs, that Mr. Ellis should go with him, to act as interpreter and counsellor. A large sum was offered for his passage. Captain Starbuck alleging his inability to provide accommodations for his family, he was compelled to remain. Kauikeouli was appointed successor to the throne in case the king never returned, and was also made heir to his private lands. The government was to be administered by the chiefs in council, the executive authority being invested in Kaahumanu and Kalaimoku. November 18th, the royal train went on board L'Aigle, and during a salute from all the shipping and batteries, sailed, in company with ten other vessels, for Oahu. On the 27th, L'Aigle left Honolulu, amid the sad forebodings of the people. Kamamalu remained on shore to the last, mingling her tears with those of her attendants, to whom her amiability and attention to domestic concerns, had greatly endeared her. Before stepping into the boat, she, after the manner of her forefathers, thus chanted her farewell: "O, heaven! O, earth! O, mountains! O, sea! O, my counsellors and my subjects, farewell! O, thou land for which my father suffered, the object of toil which my father sought, we now leave thy soil; I follow thy command; I will never disregard thy voice; I will walk by the command which thou hast given me!" Royal salutes were fired, and the ship soon disappeared before a favourable breeze.

While preparations for sailing were being made, Rives, the Frenchman, endeavoured to persuade his royal master to permit him to join the train. Not wishing to disgrace his retinue by such an appendage, he refused; but Rives managed to convey himself aboard by stealth, and after the vessel was underway, baggageless as he was, contrived to secure permission to remain. Boki, though of inferior talents to his brother, was as good a specimen of the chiefs, as Kamamalu of the beauties of her native islands. She was then twenty-six years of age.

Upon the first arrival of the mission families, they suffered somewhat from the pilfering propensities of the natives; even the chiefs indulged in the practice. But as they became convinced of its dishonesty, they exerted themselves to eradicate the habit. The most decisive measure for its suppression was performed in December of this year by the young prince. His *Kahu*, to whom he was strongly attached, and who had borne him in his arms since his birth, was detected in stealing. The prince immediately expelled him from his household, and gave the office to another petty chief.

At Kailua, Kuakini built a house of worship within the inclosure of a ruined temple, at which the average attendance on the Sabbath was eight hundred. Other chiefs united with him in enforcing the observance of the day of rest. Kapiolani dismissed all of her husbands but Naihe; became temperate, and to the day of her death, which took place in 1841, was a sincere believer. No other female adopted more thoroughly the habits of civilised life. Her house was tastefully arranged and furnished, and she was excelled by none in neatness, and attention to all her duties.

Keeaumoku, governor of Kauai, died on March 23rd, 1824. On the 26th of the following May, the ex-king of Kauai breathed his last. No chief had won more upon the affections of the missionaries. He had been an intelligent convert, and, toward the latter part of his life, was active in exhorting his countrymen to cast aside their vain superstitions, and embrace the truth. He was remarkable for his personal beauty, and dignified and gentlemanly manners. His dominions were bequeathed to Liholiho, to be held in trust by Kaahumanu and Kalaimoku. According to his last request, his remains were carried to Lahaina, and deposited by the side of Keopuolani, to whom he had been closely united in friendship.

On the 30th, the chapel at Honolulo was destroyed by an incendiary; Kalaimoku, in a few weeks, caused another and more spacious one to be erected.

When the news of the death of Kaumualii reached Kauai, the people broke through all restraint, and renewed their heathen practices. Riot and pillage, licentiousness, knocking out of teeth, and mutilation of limbs, spread over the island. During this general anarchy they prepared for war. It was thought a favourable time to throw off the yoke of bondage. Kahalaia, cousin to Liholiho, had been appointed governor. Shortly after, Kalaimoku made a visit to receive the tribute and submission of the chieftains, and to look after the wreck of the "Pride of Hawaii," which had gone ashore at Hanalei.

George Kaumualii, or Humehume, as he was called by his countrymen, had rapidly degenerated in character since his arrival. Elated by the honours conferred upon him, he aspired to greater consequence, while his giddy disposition prevented him from calculating the results. Upon the arrival of Kalaimoku, he with other chiefs hastened to tender their gifts. Kiaimakani, the most active of the dissatisfied chiefs, meeting them, proposed to proclaim Humehume, their ruler. "Come with us—you shall be our king; the islands are yours, as they were your father's. Much will we fight for you!" Seduced by his ambition, he immediately joined their party, and they well-nigh captured Kalaimoku. A council was held in which Kalaimoku made known the will of their deceased king. The rebel chiefs demanded a new division of lands, and both parties separated in anger. The next day, the 8th of August, Humehume, at the head of a numerous but undisciplined band, made a fierce attack upon the fort at Waimea. For a short time it was in much danger. Kalaimoku narrowly escaped with his life in the onset, and the assailants were not repulsed until Kiaimakani and ten of his soldiers were slain. Six of the government troops fell, among whom was an Englishman, of the name of Towbridge, commander of one of the governor's vessels. Messrs. Bingham and Whitney, with their families, resided in a house near the walls, and were repeatedly endangered by the balls of both parties. As soon as the fight terminated, Kalaimoku sent for them, knowing that they would

be exposed to the fury of the disappointed chiefs, who were mostly pagans. As he was still closely besieged in the fort, he advised them to take passage in the schooner which he was on the point of despatching for Oahu with news of the insurrection. Accordingly, they embarked: with them was sent a fine-looking young chief, who had been made prisoner. Knowing the fate that awaited him, he requested to be shot, but was carried on board and confined. When midway between the two islands, he was sent for: "I know what you want," he replied, as he manfully ascended the companion-ladder. Hardly had his feet touched the deck, when a knife was passed through him, and his body immediately thrown overboard. A number of lesser note were served in the same manner; a method of disposing of state-prisoners which had been adopted in lieu of the former sacrifices.

Had the widow of Kaumualii, the repudiated Kapuli, who was greatly beloved, joined the rebels, the consequences would have been much more serious. Her loyalty and firmness preserved many true to the will of their late king; and her exertions, though poorly repaid, were considered as highly serviceable. The news of the war created a great excitement at the windward islands. While the chiefs prepared energetically to crush the insurrection, the people, in many places left to themselves, indulged in riot and dissipation. A thousand warriors, headed by Hoapili, Kahekili and Kaikoewa, were sent to reinforce Kalaimoku. A skirmish ensued between the hostile parties at Wahiawa; the numbers and order of the government troops soon dispersed the rebels, and they fled in all directions, leaving the ground strewn with slain. In the action and pursuit one hundred and thirty were slaughtered, and of the loyalists but one fell. George Kaumualii was captured in the mountains, where he had fled half famished. He was treated kindly, and sent to Oahu, where he shortly died. After the heat of the warfare had subsided, the victors treated the conquered with a moderation before unknown in their contests. Kaahumanu and the other

principal chiefs arriving at Kauai, a grand council was held for the final settlement of the island. It was formally annexed to the kingdom of Liholiho, and Kaikoewa appointed governor. The disaffected chiefs and their tenants were distributed among the other islands, where it would be impossible for them to combine in another conspiracy. Their lands were divided among the loyal favourites and chiefs, who filled the minor offices with their creatures. The poor serfs were looked upon in the contemptuous light of conquered rebels; and for many years groaned under the heavy exactions of their new lords.

The desire of education daily grew more popular. Before the expiration of the year, two thousand had learned to read, and fifty natives were qualified as elementary teachers. At a public examination of schools, Kaahumanu was the first pupil examined. A feeble attempt was made, by a few individuals of rank, whose desires yearned toward the old deeds of revelry, to revive dances and other idolatrous practices. The young princess was persuaded to engage in a heathen sacrifice. Wahinepio, sister to Kalaimoku, was the most active of this party, which originated from a lingering faith in the superstition of "praying to death." Whatever belonged to a chief was carefully disposed of, to prevent any one inimical from obtaining an article which would give them the power of causing a mortal illness. A portion of the wardrobe of the princess which had been cast aside, was secretly buried in the sea; but one of the dresses, it was supposed, had been stolen by a sorcerer, and her attendants prevailed upon her to offer a sacrifice, as the only means of averting the evil. This was covertly done at a village eight miles from Lahaina; that place being supposed to be too much under the influence of Jehovah to ensure success. This is only worthy of note as being the last heathen rite of this character, sanctioned by the authority of a high chief.

The principal rulers not only were now favourers of the mission, but sincere converts to Christianity. Old as were

many, they acquired the art of writing, and wrote letters of gratitude to the patrons of the mission in America. That fierce warrior and sagacious statesman, Kalaimoku, gave the last hours of his active life to the support of its doctrines. By example he exhibited their beneficial effects, and by authority brought their influence to bear upon the nation. But no brighter change was ever seen, than in Kaahumanu. In the days of her heathenism, she was a cruel, haughty, imperious woman; the glance of her angry eye carried terror to all her obsequious and crouching vassals; not a subject, however high his station, dared face her frown. Many suffered death in her moments of irritation: her carriage was pride itself; for among those who held rank in the greatest estimation, she was the proudest. Though friendly at first to the missionaries, her deportment was lofty and disdainful. Their courtesies were met with an averted eye, and her little finger simply extended to a proffered hand. Her decision energy, and ability, united as they were in harmony with the experience and good judgment of Kalaimoku, extricated the nation from difficulties into which it was frequently involved, by the follies and extravagance of the king. Their sternness humbled the most rebellious, and preserved order amid many trying changes. By them the designs of evil-minded foreigners were nipped in the bud; their cunning and temptations availing little against the superior penetration of these chiefs.

After her conversion, her violent passions were checked; the cold and contemptuous behaviour gave way before the strong, natural flow of affection. To the missionaries she became warmly attached; and among her own people, and even foreigners, her character was so entirely altered, her deportment so consistent with the principles of her faith, that none could doubt its sincerity. "The new and good Kaahumanu," passed into a proverb.

The same activity and firmness which were infused into all her former acts, became united with real desires for the welfare of her subjects. Close attention was given to all

affairs of government. Idols were ferreted out and destroyed; the people exhorted to forsake their vices, and schools encouraged. The machinery of the old system, which centred all power in the hands of the chiefs, in whom it may with propriety be said the nation was individualised, was brought to aid the moral reform. The will of the rulers being the will of the populace, the revolution that followed was not surprising. As the weathercock is affected by the wind, so was public opinion at this era, by the example of the chiefs. Providentially, they had become Christians; while its pure doctrines were manifested in truth in the lives of a few of all degrees, with the mass it was an external habit, like the clothes borrowed from civilisation. For centuries the temporal and spiritual governments had been closely united. As it was impossible to enlighten the minds of the chiefs in the same ratio as their morals, or at once to infuse into monarchists the democratic tendencies of the age, this same principle was incorporated with all their new acts. So habituated had they become to swaying the public, by simple expressions of will, that in their zeal for the diffusion of Christianity, they blindly pursued the same course. In moral degradation, the minds of all had heretofore been upon a level, and it was as easy to agitate the mass by an edict or example, as to stir the waters of a calm lake by the casting of a stone. But now there existed a difference as great as light from darkness; like the troubled waters of the ocean, the gale in its utmost violence may flatten the sea, but the moment it lulls, the commotion will be deeper and stronger than before. It will be perceived that, whenever the powerful arm of government was manifested, vice and corruption cowed their heads and pursued their ends covertly; a great apparent moral revolution occurred, which the missionaries, not rightly understanding, were led to exaggerate.

At this time commenced the cry against the missionaries, that they meddled in governmental affairs. So far as their influence affected the chiefs, this was true. It was raised by

the same class of individuals who so actively endeavoured to corrupt the chiefs. They had perseveringly tried to influence the government to continue in vice; yet with an inconsistency to which they seem to have been entirely blind, they charged those whose lives and instructions were devoted to removing evil, with endeavouring unworthily to effect what they were themselves pursuing. In the struggle religion prevailed, and the discomfited assailants at once exclaimed, Church and State; by-words well calculated to impress those ignorant of the nature of the Hawaiian policy with the idea that the missionaries sought to incorporate the two, and fatten upon both. They found them united by the alliance of ages; it is not politic, even if possible, for man rudely to sweep away the prejudices of a nation. It will be found that, although the missionaries erred in judgment in some points, the general influence of their body, as it increased, was to widen these distinctions, and enlarge the liberty of the subject. In the early stage of their career, the strong attachment of the rulers to their teacher, and the inseparable policy of the government with the religion it fostered, caused its precepts to be felt in every political movement; the missionaries were truly and rightfully the active causes, but with the authorities lay the errors of execution.

No more positive proof exists of the hold which the mission was acquiring in the affections of the government, and their appreciation of its motives, than the liberal aid furnished in furtherance of their views, and in securing suitable accommodations for their families. In March, 1825, the whaler Almira arrived, bringing supplies gratuitously for the mission. As soon as this fact was made known to Kalaimoku, he remitted one half the customary harbour fees. She also brought intelligence of the death of Liholiho and Kamamalu. Kalaimoku and Kaahumanu immediately proposed to address prayers to Almighty God; they also wrote to the governors of the different islands, to unite in humbling themselves before Heaven, to preserve order among their people, and to

await the summons for a general council. The letters were signed by Kauikeaouli, who, in his official acts, assumed the title of Kamehameha III. The will of the late king in regard to the succession, which delivered the kingdom in trust to Kalaimoku and Kaahumanu, for the young prince, being well understood, was quietly acquiesced in.

On the 16th of April Richard Charlton, Esq., with his lady and her sister, arrived at Honolulu. They were the first European women who became residents. He immediately assumed the duties of his office of consul-general for the Sandwich and Society groups, to which he had been appointed by the government of England.

CHAPTER IX.

Liholiho's passage to England—Attention shown to the party—Death of King and Queen—Boki's interview with George IV.—Blonde frigate—Arrival at Lahaina—Honolulu—Funeral obsequies—Council of state—Speeches—Kaahumanu and Kalaimoku proclaimed regents—Idolatry existing in Hawaii—Courage of Kapiolani—Singular creed—Outrages of foreign captains at Lahaina—U. S. schooner Dolphin at Honolulu, 1826—Triumph of liberal party—U. S. ship Peacock—Origin and structure of parties—Character of English consul—His policy—Death of Kalaimoku, 1827—Laws enacted—Opposition of foreigners.

THE motives which occasioned the refusal of Captain Starbuck to allow the passage of Mr. Ellis, soon became apparent. The king had placed on board twenty-five thousand dollars in specie to pay his expenses, the regulating of which the captain wished to secure to himself. Assisted by Rives, whom the historian of the voyage describes as possessing a "low, cunning, and profligate nature," Liholiho was allured to his old practices of gambling and intoxication. The ship put into Rio Janeiro for a short period. The consul-general of England gave a ball for the entertainment of their Hawaiian majesties, and the Emperor, Don Pedro, treated them with distinguished attention. On the 22d May, 1824, Captain Starbuck landed his passengers at Portsmouth, England, without making any provision for their comfort. The government was apprised of their arrival through the kindness of the owners of the ship. The Hon. F. Byng immediately received the appointment of guardian to the royal cortege, and quarters were provided for them at Osborne's Hotel, London. The cash chests were forwarded to the Bank of England. On being opened, but ten thousand dollars were found; of the remainder no account was given by the captain, except a bill of three thousand dollars for expenses incurred at Rio.*

* Voyage of the Blonde, p. 55.

The appearance of the royal travellers, before suitable dresses were provided, was, for London, somewhat novel. Kamamalu exhibited herself in loose trowsers, and a long bed-gown of coloured velveteen; Liliha, in a similar costume. However, the tailors soon fitted the males to the newest cut; and Parisian modistes clothed the ladies in all the artificial gear of fashion. Corsets for the first time encircled their ample waists; and the London ladies, in their rage for the new lions, sought patterns of the turban that graced the brow of the queen. The contrast between the simple *malo* of their deceased father, which once constituted his court dress, and the splendid habiliments with which his children were clothed, must have excited curious reflections in the minds of their attendants. They all behaved with propriety; though on one occasion, one of the party seeing a mullet, which resembled the species found in their island waters, seized it with avidity, and hurried home, where the impatience of the royal guests would not await its dressing. It was devoured raw, and no doubt was the most savoury morsel that entered their mouths while abroad.

Rives was dismissed from his office of interpreter, on account of repeated ill-behaviour; and James Young, a son of the favourite of Kamehameha I., who had accompanied them, appointed to his place. The nobility showed them the attention they usually bestow upon live curiosities, particularly of rank. They were feasted and flattered; taken to the shows and sights of the mighty city, and hurried from one rout to another, with an activity which their insouciant dispositions and tropical constitutions were poorly calculated to sustain. The Chapel of Henry VII., the burial-place of England's sovereigns, Liholiho could not be prevailed upon to enter; esteeming it too sacred to be profaned by the foot even of a brother monarch.

On the 12th of June, Manui, the steward, was attacked by the measles; the next day, the king sickened, and by the 19th, all of the party were afflicted with the same disease.

Dr. Holland attended them; but in a few days, the queen became dangerously ill, and a consultation of physicians was held. Boki and Kekuanaoa rapidly recovered; and Kapihe soon grew better. On the 4th of July, Liholiho was sufficiently well to give an audience to Richard Charlton, Esq., the newly-appointed consul to his dominions. By the 8th, no hopes of the queen were entertained; the mutual grief of the royal couple was affecting. They held each other in a warm and protracted embrace, while the thought of dying so early in their career, so far from their loved islands and friends, caused the tears to gush freely. In the evening she died. This sad event so affected the depressed spirits of the king, that although hopes of his recovery had been entertained, he sank rapidly, and on the 14th, after much severe suffering, breathed his last. Previous to his death, he drew up a rough memorandum, in which he expressed his wish to have his body and that of his consort conveyed to their native land; his personal effects he distributed among his retinue.

The survivors received much kindness, and were taken to such places as were calculated to enlighten their minds, and give them favourable impressions of the power and civilisation of England. On the 11th of September, George IV. granted them an interview at Windsor, in which he received them courteously, and promised protection, should any power manifest a disposition to encroach upon the sovereignty of their islands. Canning, also, was friendly, and held frequent conversations with the party. All their expenses were provided for by government, and the money lodged in the Bank of England, returned to them, which they expended in presents for their friends at home.

The frigate Blonde, commanded by Lord Byron, was ordered to convey to Oahu the remains of the sovereigns, which had been deposited in lead coffins, enclosed in wood, covered with crimson velvet, and richly ornamented. Suitable inscriptions in English and Hawaiian told the rank and age of the deceased. Boki and his followers embarked at Portsmouth, on the 28th

of September. On their voyage they had an opportunity of observing several other countries. The frigate touched at Rio, St. Catherine's, at Valparaiso, where Kapihe died; also, at Callao and the Gallipagos; thence they sailed to Lahaina, Maui. Before their arrival, Liliha and Kekuanaoa were baptized, at their request, by the chaplain, Lord Byron standing sponsor.

On the 4th of May, 1825, the Blonde came in sight of Lahaina. A boat put off from the frigate, containing Boki and his consort, and their suite. The cry spread through the village, "It is Boki, it is Boki!" and thousands thronged the shore to await his landing. Some began to wail; Hoapili, the father of Liliha, took a seat upon the beach. As she approached, the crowd opened a passage for her into the centre of the circle. The wailing gradually increased, until her venerable parent rose from his chair, and, in the words of an eye-witness, "with a *roar* which scarcely resembled the human voice," embraced his daughter. The princess Nahienaena then threw herself into Liliha's arms, while Hoapili, unable longer to restrain his emotion, threw himself on the dirt at Boki's feet, literally scouring his face in the sand. His example was followed by all the veterans of the court, and the assembled multitude burst forth into a wail, which drowning the roar of the surf, echoed over the hills, and spread the alarm far and wide.

The first words uttered by any of the voyagers were by Boki, who inquired, "Where shall we pray?" As soon as the chiefs joined in devotion, the wailing ceased. Boki, after writing to his brother, at Oahu, to apprise him of his arrival, spoke of the voyage and of the kindness he had received from the English nation. He repeated to the people king George's words, "If you wish to have me for your friend, you and your people must all learn to read and write. If you do not attend to instruction, I shall not be your friend." Upon his inquiring of him whether it was wise to encourage the teachers of religion, he replied, "Yes, they are a people to make others

good. I always have some of them by me;" and also told him of the former barbarous state of Britain, referring to their present condition, as an instance of what Christianity and civilisation could accomplish.*

The Blonde arrived at Honolulu on the 6th, and fired a salute, which was promptly returned. Boki and his party were received at the landing by all the chiefs, dressed in deep mourning. Files of soldiers kept the crowd at a respectful distance. Kaahumanu led the way to the barges, accompanied by her two sisters, and the widows of the deceased monarch. When the parties were sufficiently near to recognise each other, the queens gave expression to their sorrow and wept aloud. Boki's barge stopped when within a little distance of the shore; all the near relatives indulged in violent paroxysms of grief, wringing their hands, while the air was filled by the clamorous lamentations of the populace, and the gloomy roar of the minute-guns. The mourners disembarked and embraced. After a short interview, they hastened to the house of Kalaimoku, who was too unwell to be out; then to the chapel, where divine services were held, and after which, Boki made an address, recommending attention to "letters and religion."

On the succeeding day, the chiefs gave an audience to Lord Byron and his officers, at which the gifts of George IV. to the heads of the nation were presented. The young king was clothed, to his great satisfaction, in a rich suit of Windsor uniform, with chapeau and sword. Kalaimoku and Kaahumanu also received testimonials suitable to their station.

The funeral obsequies were performed on the 11th, with a mixture of barbaric pomp and civilised customs, which accorded well with the transition state of the nation. Twenty men in the native mourning habit, some with rich feathered cloaks, bearing by couples the immense feathered staffs of state, waving heavily to and fro in the wind, headed the procession. Double lines of soldiers extended on both sides of the road from the fort to the chapel, a distance of half a mile.

* Vol. xxii. Missionary Herald, 1826.

The marines, band and officers of the Blonde, with all the foreigners, walked in regular files. The coffins were placed on two cars, surmounted by rich canopies of black, and each drawn by forty of the inferior chiefs, all in the same mournful costume. The king and his sister, with Lord Byron and Mr. Charlton, came immediately after. The chiefs two by two, according to their respective rank. A hundred seamen of the frigate in uniform closed the procession. The church was hung in black. After the religious services, the procession marched to the habitation of Kalaimoku, which had been prepared for the reception of the officers. Here this venerable chieftain, the tears starting down his care-worn countenance, despite the convulsive effort of manliness to suppress them, received the remains of those who, through life, had been to him as his own offspring. Strange reflections and shades thickened on his memory. He had fought against their father; to his humanity owed his own life. Side by side had they battled to victory through many bloody and dubious fields. In council, and at the domestic board, had he shared his love and confidence. Amid obscene memorials, bloody sacrifices and unholy rites, he closed the eyes of his monarch and friend. Barbarous revelry prevailed at the accession of his son; strife and bloodshed attended the abolition of idolatry. Iron rule laid low the altars, and crushed the faith of a nation at one blow. In the history of the past, he was the most prominent individual then alive. By disease or violence his companions in arms had fallen. That new and holy faith which, like the grain of mustard-seed, in noiseless increase, had swelled and flourished in his own heart, appeared too late for them to share its blessings; and now amid the passing away of the old, the pomp and circumstance of civilisation, and the sacred symbols of Christianity, he beheld the ashes of the children of his benefactor consigned to their last resting-place, where they lay enveloped in more splendid cerements, than within his memory, the wealth of the kingdom could have furnished.

On the 6th of June, the grand council assembled for settling the succession, and regulating other governmental affairs. There were present, beside the chiefs, Lord Byron, the English Consul, and Mr. Bingham. Naihe opened the business, by stating the purpose which brought them together; it was to confirm the crown to Kauikeaouli, and establish suitable laws for the state. The young prince was unanimously proclaimed king. Kalaimoku then addressed the chiefs, setting forth the defects of many of their laws and customs, particularly the reversion of lands to the king on the death of their occupants. Kamehameha had partially introduced an hereditary succession, based upon feudal tenure, which confirmed predial servitude among the common orders. A powerful aristocracy had arisen in consequence, which his superiority alone could keep in due subjection. His successor, either fearing their overgrown power, or avaricious of their wealth, revived the more ancient custom. Kalaimoku proposed that Kamehameha's policy should become the established law of the kingdom; the lands of the chiefs should be unalienable in their families, except in cases of treason. A proposal so greatly to their advantage, was adopted by acclamation.

Boki informed the chiefs of the results of his interview with George IV., in which he had consented to watch over the kingdom, and protect it from foreign invasion. He also repeated the advice in regard to the missionaries; paid a just tribute to the English for their hospitality, and concluded by expressing his deep loyalty to the young king.

Kuakini proposed that Kauikeaouli should receive a Christian education, and be separated as much as possible from those of his subjects, whose influence would lead him to the vices which had stained the character of his brother. This met with the approbation of all.

Kapiolani then stated her endeavours on Hawaii to diminish the prominent vices of the nation, and that she had promulgated laws prohibiting murder, infanticide, theft and

debauchery. Kaahumanu, in a short speech, expressed her approval of such measures, and proposed their universal adoption; and that instruction should be given to the people at large.

Lord Byron gave some useful hints for their domestic polity, in which he urged a uniform taxation, the abolition of villanage, and protection of life to the common people. He also approved of the labours and designs of the mission; its principles being primarily explained in an address by Mr. Bingham, who stated that their instructions expressly forbade any interference in the political concerns of the nation. The recognition of their existence by the English government, as a free and independent people, was fully assured them, and that in no wise would that power dictate or interfere in their domestic affairs. By his recommendation the exorbitant port duties were much reduced, and regulations for the seizure and delivery of deserters from ships agreed upon. These were reduced to writing, signed, sealed, and promulgated by Kalaimoku. It was the first official written document of their legislation. Kaahumanu and Kalaimoku were jointly continued in the regency during the minority of the king. The council then broke up.

The Blonde sailed for Hawaii, having Kaahumanu and suite on board. Grateful for the attentions and kindness of Lord Byron, the chiefs vied in their semi-barbaric hospitality to do honour to the guest of the nation. At Kealakeakua, Lord Byron erected a humble monument to the memory of Cook, on the spot where his body was burnt. It consisted of an oaken cross, into which a copper plate was inserted, bearing an inscription, ascribing to Captain James Cook the discovery of these islands. Byron shares with Vancouver the affectionate remembrance of the chiefs.

The immediate region about the crater of Kilauea, Hawaii, being remote from all the mission stations, remained for several years much under the influence of the priesthood of Pele. It was seldom visited by the ruling chiefs, and its inhabitants

living within the circuit of the former devastations of the volcano, and in sight of its terrific action, were more deeply imbued with heathen superstitions, than those whose idols had been destroyed, and whose faith had been yearly weakened by an increased foreign intercourse. Here, apart from their fellows, they existed an almost distinct race. Sacrifices were daily offered to Pele, and occasionally her prophets would wander into the more civilised districts, and denounce awful retribution for the general apostacy. But these denunciations had been too frequent and faithless to provoke much, except the ridicule of the better-informed, while the chiefs remonstrated with these self-deluded agents on their folly, or sternly ordered them to renounce their claims to inspiration. Gradually a spirit of inquiry was awakened even here, and the first blow given to this dominant belief in the summer of 1823, when a party of missionaries visited the crater. In defiance of the threats of the priests and the fears of the people, they partook of the sacred fruit, and boldly invaded her very fires. The impunity with which this was done, astonished the natives; but they attributed it to the superiority of Jehovah to their goddess, rather than to an entire absence of the supernatural. But early in the year 1825, their credulity was staggered by the boldness of Kapiolani, who, with a daring which, when her previous associations are considered, does her infinite credit, determined to convince its votaries of the falsity of their oracles. She visited the wonderful phenomenon; reproved the idolatry of its worshippers, and neglected every rite and observance which they had been taught to consider as necessary for their welfare. In vain the priests launched their anathemas, and denounced upon her the vengeance of the offended deity. She replied, she feared not; and would abide the test of daring Pele in the recesses of her domains: the fires of the volcano were the work of the God she worshipped. Venturing to the brink of the abyss, she descended several hundred feet toward the liquid lava, and after casting the sacred berries into the flames,

an act than which none more sacrilegious, according to their ideas, could have been done, she composedly praised Jehovah amid one of the most sublime and terrible of his works. There is a moral grandeur in this deed, worthy of a Christian philosopher. The sincerity of her faith could not have been put to a severer test.

The greater portion of Hawaii has remained to this day comparatively dark and benighted. It has afforded a retreat to the few remaining votaries of the past, and has been the field from which have sprung wild beliefs, which, under more favourable circumstances, might have ripened into fanatical creeds. The character of the inhabitants seems to partake of the natural wildness about them, and their imaginations to be ripened amid the blackness of desolation which marks the action of the volcano. Here arose a system of theology, some years since, remarkable for its ingenious combination of Christianity and heathenism. A few young men promulgated that there were three gods: Jehovah, Jesus Christ, and Hapu, a former prophetess. Her bones had been disinterred, adorned after the manner of their idols, and deposited in a certain enclosure, denominated the Place of Refuge. They travelled through the island, exhorting all to flee within its bounds, as the heavens and the earth were about to meet, and all not there assembled would be destroyed. Throngs obeyed; a temple was erected, and the multitude worshipped by day and by night. The destruction not taking place at the appointed time, hunger compelled many to leave. The appearance of a missionary, who expostulated with them upon their folly, decided the remainder, and after firing the temple, they quietly dispersed.

No restriction excited the anger of the enemies of the mission more than the tabu which prevented women from frequenting ships. Since the discovery of the islands, this practice had been carried on openly and without restraint. Masters of vessels frequently bribed young girls to perform voyages with them. So universal had been licentiousness,

that the first appearance of any restraint seemed, by its advocates, to be viewed as an infraction of their natural rights. In the fall of 1825, the chiefs were induced to forbid the traffic in lewdness. The good sense of the majority of foreigners approved of the reform, but the violence of others was unpardonable.

In October, the British whaler, Daniel, Captain Buckle, arrived at Lahaina, when this law was in force. Some of the crew charged Mr. Richards with being its author, and demanded that he should procure its repeal. He informed them that the law emanated from the chiefs, who acted in this respect in accordance with the word of God. They withdrew; others came up and threatened the destruction of his property and lives of his family. After they retired, the natives kept guard, and allowed no seamen to approach the premises. The next day Captain Buckle sent word to Mr. Richards, that all his crew were ashore, and were determined not to return without women ; and if he gave his consent, all would be " peace and quietness." An attack was made by the armed crew upon the house, which was repulsed by the guard. The chiefs were vainly solicited by the infuriated crew to repeal the law.

On the 14th of January, 1826, the United States schooner Dolphin, Lieutenant John Percival, arrived at Honolulu. This commander expressed his regret at the existence of such a statute, and interested himself, and with partial success, in procuring the release of some women who were confined for immoral offences. Violent menaces were circulated against the missionaries, to whose influence the regulation was rightfully attributed. The evening of the 26th of February, being the Sabbath, Mr. Bingham went to hold divine worship at the house of Kalaimoku, who was lying ill on his couch. Several of the Dolphin's crew entered, armed with clubs, and demanded the abolition of the law. In case of refusal, they threatened to destroy the building. Before they could be ejected, all the front windows were broken in. Being driven

from this quarter, and having received a reinforcement of shipmates, they directed their course to the residence of Mr. Bingham. Seeing this, he endeavoured to reach the house first, but falling in with them, was immediately seized, they threatening further violence. The natives now interfered, and in the melee, Mr. Bingham was released, fortunately escaping a blow aimed with a club, and the stab of a knife. The rioters were secured; but another gang reached the house, and broke in a window. Two attempted to force the door, when one unexpectedly turned upon the other, and, without any apparent provocation, with a sudden blow laid him senseless. Another was dangerously wounded by a sabre in the hands of a native. Through the authority of the chiefs who were present, no further injury was received, although one seaman owed his preservation to the interposition of a missionary.*

In the evening, Percival waited upon the chiefs, and declared his determination not to leave the island, until the prohibition was repealed. Awed by his threats and wearied by importunity, some of them gave a tacit consent. Numbers of women immediately went on board, and when the first boat-load pushed off, a shout of triumph rang through the shipping. The delinquent chiefs were severely reprimanded by Kalaimoku; but the authority of the government had been overthrown by a national vessel of a powerful nation, and it was long before it could be re-established. Lieutenant Percival expressed his gratification at the result, and his further determination to compel the recission of the edict at the windward islands, where it still continued in force. His vessel remained at Honolulu ten weeks, in the full enjoyment of the immorality for which he had so successfully interfered. So odious was the example, that his vessel has ever since borne the soubriquet of the "mischief-making man-of-war."

With such a precedent, it is no matter of surprise that

* Tracy's History of Missions, p. 184. Boston, 1842.

lawless captains should incite their crews to equally overt acts. At Lahaina, where, through the firmness of Hoapili, the law was enforced, some months later, the seamen of several ships lying in the roads, declared their determination to murder Mr. Richards. He was then absent; but they proceeded to his house with the intention of demolishing it. A guard of natives drove them off; they continued for several days to destroy the property of the inhabitants, and committed many excesses. Hoapili, who was also absent, had left the place in charge of a female chief; at the commencement of the difficulties she ordered all the females to retire to the mountains.

A year afterward, another and more aggravated assault was made by the crew of the John Palmer, an English whaler commanded by an American of the name of Clark. Several women had succeeded in getting on board, which the captain declined giving up. Hoapili refused to allow Clark, who happened to be ashore, to return to his vessel until the delinquents were landed. Word was carried to the crew, of the detention of their captain, and they prepared to fire upon the town. Upon the promise of Clark to return the females, he was released; before the intelligence of his liberation reached the crew, they had discharged five cannon balls in the direction of the mission-house, none of which, though they passed near it, proved destructive. The next morning Clark, violating his pledge, sailed for Oahu, taking the women with him.

Outrages from similar causes, of more or less virulence, were not uncommon at this period. The forbearance of the islanders, and the inflexible courage of the missionaries, contrasts forcibly with the malignity of disappointed sensualism.

Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, Esq., commanding the U. S. ship Peacock, arrived at Honolulu, in October, 1826, and remained three months. During this time transpired an event, rightly to understand the occasion of which it will be necessary to trace its cause. Two parties then existed; one composed of the powerful chiefs who were under the religious

influence of the mission; their polity bore deeply the impress of their new ideas; and the whole force of government was employed to crush the licentious spirit of the nation, and compel the people to receive instruction. To their teachers they looked with strong affection; although the principles of the latter forbade any direct political interference, yet their pupils zealously endeavoured to implant in their legislation the direct influences derived from the simple commandments of the Gospel. So far as the missionaries were faithful to their cause they became identified with government; for it was only to them, and the transient visitors of intelligence at the islands, that the chiefs could safely apply for disinterested advice. This was frequently given, but in its execution the old Kamehameha policy was adhered to. And in the then existing state of the nation, when everything was in a state of transition, nothing short of absoluteness could have effectually kept in check the tendency to anarchy. Hence the power and patronage of the chiefs carried with them the general sentiment of the nation; and their decrees were observed with a rigidness which annoyed those whose interests and pleasures lay more in unrestricted freedom. The consistent piety of some of the chiefs put to the blush the conduct of civilised men, who had formerly shared in their revels, and consequently acquired an influence in their councils, which had been supplanted by the mission. Hence arose an enmity, which gradually settled into a systematic hostility to every act of government: all was ascribed to the mission, and the party thus formed vigorously assaulted the motives of its supporters, and endeavoured, by secretly undermining the good effected, corrupting the converts, or availing themselves of the mass of vileness which, like a spent volcano, lay concealed in the nation, and needed but an opening to cause it to rage strongly and fiercely utterly to destroy the missionaries from the land. Foiled i their endeavours, they had ventured to assail their personal characters, and circulated cunningly devised falsehoods, and the basest calumnies, some

of which poisoned the minds of worthy men, who thought they saw objectionable features in mission operations generally, and eagerly caught at what, coming from the same field, was supposed, with all their exaggerations, to originate in truth. By such causes were the intelligent minds of men like Kotzebue, Beechey, and others, circumvented; men whose fault lay in not examining candidly for themselves, but giving a too willing and credulous ear to specious charges. Supported by them, some of the popular reviewers and writers fell into most egregious errors, which have since been amply refuted.

Farther to give evidence to their statements, a letter was published in the London Quarterly Review, which the editor pledged to be a genuine production of Boki, in which they were confirmed, and the thrice-told tale, of the power passing into the hands of the missionaries, fully re-echoed.* Unfortunately for the party, it no sooner appeared than it was proved a forgery, and by it the real character of those that were obliged to resort to such fabrications to support a sinking cause was disclosed.

It must not be supposed that all who were not of the mission were in the ranks of their enemies. There were many men who honestly differed from them, but respected their cause. The venerable John Young expressed his surprise and pleasure at the reform; foreign settlers there were who lent aid by counsel and example. But those low men, who formerly held unlimited influence over the chiefs, of which Rives was the principal, formed the nucleus of the party. The history of this man, on account of the evil he occasioned, will be traced hereafter. About them gathered the degraded in moral sentiment of all classes; men whose interests or sensuality were curtailed by the increasing civilisation. At their head now appeared the English consul. In the selection of this individual the government, for its own credit, had been most unfortunate. So popular had Vancouver

* Appendix to Stewart's Residence in the Sandwich Islands, see Letter vi.

and Lord Byron made that nation, that an official agent of generous sentiments and general intelligence might have secured an influence which would have hastened the progress of civilisation, and conferred honour upon himself. But this man was of an irritable temperament, profligate habits, and moderate abilities. His character for mendacity soon became proverbial throughout the nation, and he was considered a reproach to his own countrymen by those who had an opportunity of knowing him.* Yet so craftily did he manage his ends, as to disguise the most suspicious appearance from those he feared, while to those of whose opinion he was reckless, his real sentiments were conspicuous. Fear or craft prevented the many complaints against him from reaching the minister by whom he retained his appointment. Two views seem to centre in his mind, a thorough devotion to the interests of England or her subjects, however unworthy the cause, or vicious the manner pursued, and a determination of revenge, which lack of courage alone moderated. His real hatred to the missionaries originated more from a national feeling, than from hostility to them personally, for he not unfrequently was kind and courteous. He foresaw that American missionaries, if successful, would introduce republican principles, and the tone of the people would tend towards that nation. English influence would gradually be absorbed, and in time the islands become an appendage to the great republic. American commerce and settlers were, by far, the most numerous, and both yearly increasing. To a mind like his, no more powerful motive for an attempt to frustrate their growing prosperity could have existed. Availing himself of the discordant elements about him, he managed, by exciting their cupidity, sensualism, and fear of religious intoleration, to combine into one party the classes before described. Several Americans, circumvented by his artifice, and imbibing an almost equal hostility towards their countrymen, impolitically condescended to serve under his banner ; their joint cry was,

* See Nautical Magazine, vol. iii. p. 541. 1834.

Down with the missionaries; his secret motive, Off with the Americans. By turns he flattered and bullied the chiefs; and at all times endeavoured to convince them that they were the subjects of the British empire, and under some sort of guardianship to him. But the assurance of Lord Byron, and the terms of his own commission, by which he received his appointment to a friendly and independent nation, gave the lie to those assertions. Failing in defeating the progress of the American mission at this period, he proclaimed it his intention to divide the nation, and create a rival religion, by the introduction of English Roman Catholic priests. Such was the state of affairs at the visit of Captain Jones.

In the management of their foreign relations the chiefs depended greatly upon the advice of the highest foreign officers who touched at their islands. Either party felt strengthened according to the course such pursued. The conduct of Percival was a triumph to the liberal party, as they considered themselves; that of Jones strengthened the confidence of the government in the honour of his nation, and served fully to expose the malicious designs of their defamers. He arrived imbued with many of the prejudices common at that era; numbers zealously hastened to confirm them. The excitement became so great that the mission issued a circular, stating the course they had pursued, denying the charges, and challenging an investigation. The residents accepted it, and appointed a meeting, at which both parties could appear and be heard. Captain Jones and his officers were to be witnesses. At the appointed time all assembled; Mr. Charlton repeated the substance of the usual complaints; that he was dissatisfied with the management of the mission; that the people were growing worse; that no chief dared testify against a missionary, &c.; but he refused to commit any of these charges to writing, or render himself liable for the proof. He said he came to hear what the mission had to prove. Their circular was read, and the accusers were requested to bring forward some special charge,

or testimony of evil, if there were such. Not being able to adduce any, the meeting was adjourned. Before his departure, Captain Jones having made himself acquainted with the facts and statements of both sides, wrote to the mission, bearing testimony to the good results of their labours, and their readiness to submit to an investigation of any charges derogatory to their system or character.*

On the 2d of March, 1827, the nation experienced a heavy loss in the death of their venerated chieftain, Kalaimoku. He died at Kailua, Hawaii, of the dropsy; a complaint from which he had long suffered. By his countrymen he was significantly termed the "iron cable" of Hawaii.† The regency was now solely vested in Kaahumanu; Boki, whose influence and abilities were in ways equal to his brother's, was continued governor of Oahu, and was vested with the guardianship of the young king. He was of an easy tempe-

* Captain Jones's account of the result of this meeting is curious and interesting. In a letter, under date of 1835, he writes:—

"I own I trembled for the cause of Christianity and for the poor benighted islanders, when I saw on the one hand the *British Consul*, backed by the most wealthy and hitherto influential foreign residents and shipmasters, in formidable array, and prepared, as I supposed, to testify against some half dozen meek and humble servants of the Lord, calmly seated on the other, ready and even anxious to be tried by their bitterest enemies, who on this occasion occupied the *quadruple station of judge, jury, witness, and prosecutor*. Thus situated, what could the friends of the mission hope for or expect? But what in reality was the result of this portentous meeting, which was to overthrow the missionaries and uproot the seeds of civilisation and Christianity, so extensively and prosperously sown by them in every direction, while in their stead idolatry and heathenism were to ride triumphantly through all coming time? Such was the object and such were the hopes of many of the foreign residents at the Sandwich islands in 1826. What, I again ask, was the issue of this great trial? The *most perfect, full, complete, and triumphant victory* for the missionaries that could have been asked by their most devoted friends. Not one *jot* or *tittle*, not one *iota* derogatory to their character as *men*, as *ministers of the Gospel* of the strictest order, or as *missionaries*, could be made to appear by the *united efforts of all* who conspired against them."

† At his death his stone house, the best built and most costly in the island, was dismantled, in accordance with a superstition that still lingered among them. Upon the death of a high chief, it was not uncommon, even at so late a period, to destroy much of his property, that none other might possess it; and valuable loads of satins, velvets, broadcloths, and other rich goods, were taken to the sea-side, cut into small pieces, and cast into the surf.

rament, and frequently duped by designing foreigners. For a considerable period he faithfully discharged his duties, acting in harmony with Kaahumanu, but was finally seduced into a course which distracted the nation, and brought ruin upon himself.*

When it was found that exposure attended the criminal practices and violence of those captains who insulted the native authorities, and heaped abuse and violence upon the unoffending heads of their teachers, the virulence of the party

* An attempt has lately been made by the advocates of Romanism (see anonymous pamphlet, published at Honolulu, 1840, entitled "Supplement to the Sandwich Island Mirror,") to exaggerate the authority of Boki, and destroy that of Kaahumanu, who is represented as an usurping old woman, led by the American Mission. No historical fact can be more clear than that the supreme power devolved solely upon her after the death of Kalaimoku, until the king became of age. As the favoured wife of Kamehameha, she was second only to him in his lifetime. Before his death she was appointed guardian of, or more properly a constitutional check upon, Liholiho, whose father feared the result of his erratic habits, and at his accession was confirmed by him in this office. On his departure, the kingdom was left jointly to her care and that of Kalaimoku. Their regency was again confirmed at the national council on the 6th of June, 1825. After the death of the latter, the sole authority devolved upon Kaahumanu, both by virtue of rank and previous appointment. It was not till a later period that Boki, instigated by foreigners, aspired to greater power. Both Kaahumanu and Boki filled their respective offices without collision, and with the approbation of the other chiefs. The limits of each were well understood. Kaahumanu was the political guardian of the kingdom, the executive power, repeatedly recognised by national councils and edicts, also by the officers and war-ships of foreign powers.

Boki was governor of Oahu, and the *personal* guardian of the king. Like that of the princess, it was an important office, but not of a political character. It had been previously filled, and was at a later period, by chiefs of equal rank with Boki, who never assumed other political importance in consequence.

Next to the children of Keopuolani, Kaahumanu, by descent, was entitled to the chief power, being the daughter of her husband's most noted warrior, Keeaumoku, and second only to him in military rank. The importance of his family is shown by the offices they filled even in the lifetime of Kamehameha I. The daughters were his queens, of which Kaahumanu was chief. Two sons, Kuakini, governor of Hawaii, and Keeaumoku, governor of Maui, Lanai and Molokai, afterward placed in an office of still greater responsibility, by Liholiho, the governorship of Kauai. No other family was of like importance, though the service and fidelity of Kalaimoku entitled him to equal consideration, and it is upon the rank which he filled, derived not from descent, but the friendship and confidence of two kings, that the defamers of Kaahumanu endeavoured to establish his brother.

that supported them knew no bounds. In their rage, they desired the deaths of those who had been active in creating the moral sentiment, which placed a bar to their lawless passions. Charlton blusteringly demanded satisfaction for the detention of Clark at Lahaina. Such deportment rendered the chiefs the more attached, as they saw an attempt to visit the hostility to their acts upon the mission. During the month of December, it was thought necessary to establish a military guard for the protection of the most obnoxious. The fortifications at Lahaina were made capable of resisting any attack from whale-ships; though it is improbable that the threats would have been put into execution, the cowardice of such characters being generally equal to their baseness. Foiled thus on every side, their enmity settled into a subtle malignity, which sought expression by poisoning the minds of visitors, and creating prejudices which they hoped would result in the final overthrow of the mission, and of the chiefs that gave it support.

At a general council, held by order of government, it was proposed to reduce the edicts, which had been hitherto issued according to the will of the individual governors, into a species of national code, which should embrace penalties, based upon the principles of civilised lands. As they were to include the selling of ardent spirits, and restrictions upon certain liberties which heretofore had been as free as the winds, the opposition was strong. The vengeance of the British government was threatened by the English consul, if they dared to legislate for themselves. He prevailed so far as to defer the execution, to an indefinite period, of all the laws enacted, except those for murder, theft, and adultery. The whole were printed and distributed for the information of the people.

Two years before, an attempt had been made to introduce a municipal code of a similar character. The regents had invited some of the missionaries to be present at the council

at which the several clauses were to be discussed. It was rumoured that the Decalogue was to be the basis of the new regulations. Some of the foreigners, irritated at these measures, broke in upon the meeting, and, by their violence and menaces, intimidated the chiefs from then accomplishing their purposes.*

* Stewart's Visit to the South Seas, vol. ii. p. 149.

CHAPTER X.

1827—Arrival of Roman Catholic Priests—Their history—Reception—Policy—Opinion of chiefs—Foreigners—Spread of Protestantism—Boki's rebellion—1829—Conduct of the King—Legislation—Hostility of foreigners—Causes of—Visit of U. S. ship Vincennes—Fatal expedition of Boki—Persecution of Papists—Liliha's attempt at revolution—Removal from office—Kuakini appointed Governor of Oahu—Jesuits sent away—Death of Kaahumanu, 1832—Succeeded by Kinau—Kauikeouli assumes the government—His abolition of tabus—Effects—Reaction—1834.

The year 1827 is memorable for the introduction of the Romish mission, and the commencement of the fulfilment of the desire of Mr. Charlton, the founding of a rival faith; though, could he have foreseen in its results the establishment of a French interest, which well-nigh led to the supremacy of that rival nation, his jealousy would doubtless have created a coldness towards it as great as at first his apparent cordiality. Its origin was as low as the measures to establish it were base and deceptive. After the departure of Boki from London, Rives, who had been dismissed from the royal train, went to France; there, by fictitious representations of his wealth and importance at the Hawaiian islands, of the real condition of which the French were ignorant, having no intercourse at that time, he acquired notoriety, the greater, as it was supposed he had held a responsible office about the person of the sovereign. This he turned to his advantage, contracting for a large quantity of goods, which he was to pay for upon arrival at Oahu. Artisans and priests were advertised for, to go out under his patronage, and labourers to work upon his plantations. In July, 1826, the Rev. John Alexius Bachelot, a Jesuit, was appointed Apostolic Prefect of the

Sandwich Islands, by Pope Leo XII.* Messrs. Armand and Short, (the latter an Irish weaver,) with four mechanics, were to accompany him. Church ornaments, to the amount of several thousand dollars, were engaged, which, with the passage-money, were to be paid for by Rives at Honolulu. He took passage in another ship for the Pacific, and, instead of going to the islands, landed upon the western coast of America, where he soon squandered his money and credit. His fate is not known; but he never ventured to appear before the chiefs, by whom he had been discarded, or to meet his unfortunate countrymen, whom he had been the means of deluding into exile.

The ship Comet, Captain Plassard, sailed from Bordeaux with the goods and missionaries, in the early part of 1827. She arrived at Honolulu July 7th, and anchored outside the reef. No person appeared to receive the property, or welcome the priests. Plassard, unable to sell his cargo, unceremoniously landed his passengers, in violation of the law which required permission first to be obtained. He was informed by the governor of the statute, and ordered to take them away. Being beyond the range of the batteries, he determined not to comply, alleging that he "had had trouble enough with them," and expense also, for no passage-money was paid. The priests were thus left dependent upon their own exertions for a subsistence. They procured a house from an American, and lived in company with the mechanics, in a humble manner. By the natives, they were treated in the same way as other foreigners.

Boki, by command of the regent, had been bearer of the order for their expulsion. He understood the general distinctions between the Romish and Protestant systems of theology, and professed his willingness to treat them kindly

* It has been denied that the French priests, who of late years have been sent upon missions throughout Polynesia, were of the order of Jesuits. But on this point I have the testimony of one of their nation, who was on intimate relations with them, and had frequently seen their diplomas, in which it was stated that they were subject to the rules of that body.

while they remained; but as the islanders had already received one set of teachers, with whom they were perfectly satisfied, the discordant doctrines of Romanism would create, as he surmised, in so small and rude a nation, unpleasant dissensions. In powerful and enlightened countries, like the United States and England, he remarked to an American gentleman, when discussing the propriety of their remaining, numerous denominations could exist in comparative harmony; but with them, difference in their present condition would beget contention, and it was better that they should all think alike. It was also the universal wish of the chiefs that they should leave. The opinion of Boki obtains to the present day, and the king has said, that had the Protestants sought a footing after Romanism had been established, they would have met with a similar repulse.

The priests, ignorant of the language and customs of the Hawaiians, easily became the dupes of foreigners, who desired to use them as an additional resource for overturning the existing order of things. By false representations they had been seduced to leave France, and by the same system of deception were they allured to remain. Bachelot and Short (Armand having been lost overboard on the passage) appear to have been of simple habits, and desirous of effecting good in accordance with the mandates of their church. Had they been dropped among an entirely heathen tribe, their zeal, instructions, and purity of lives, would have won respect, and success crowned their labours. But it seems to be the policy of the heads of their order, wherever a Protestant mission flourishes, to plant another of their faith beside it. Instead of turning their attention solely to the numerous unoccupied fields for religious effort, which still exist in the Pacific, they have intruded, by deceit or force of arms, into groups which desired them not. Injustice and violence have marked their progress, and their name has become a by-word and reproach.

Deluded into the belief that the islanders groaned under

the tyranny of priest-ridden chiefs, and that numbers, if they dared, would hail with joy their presence, these men pertinaciously determined to remain at every hazard. That they had ever received permission from government, they never claimed. Bachelot, in a letter published in the "Annals of the Propagation of Faith," writes, "We had never obtained the formal *yes* in relation to our remaining on these islands;" and little later, he says, "It never came into my mind to ask for it till it was too late." They well knew that their stay was in violation of the express orders of the government, and the general wishes of the nation; yet, with an effrontery that shows a sad want of moral principle, they elsewhere relate the pitiful subterfuges which they employed to deceive the chiefs. These accorded with the spirit of fanaticism, but are a sad comment upon the candour and boldness of the evangelist by whose authority their church claims ecclesiastical supremacy. The kindness and forbearance of the chiefs to them, at this era, deserve notice. Unwilling to do them injury, they suffered them to remain and commence their labours, thinking that they would voluntarily obey the injunction for departure so soon as means could be provided.

On the 14th of July they celebrated their first mass; a small chapel for worship was opened in January, 1828. Through the kindness of the American mission, they were furnished with copies of their works in the Hawaiian tongue, to enable them to prosecute their studies. A small congregation was gathered, principally of those foreigners who conformed to their communion. To them their religious services were valuable; and no one can reasonably doubt the justice of enabling those whose attachments to certain tenets are deep, to worship in security and peace. Of this the government seemed to have been aware, and offered no molestation. Curiosity attracted some natives to witness the ceremonies; they speedily reported that images were worshipped. This excited much surprise, and drew many of the chiefs to the chapel; among them went the young king. He afterwards

confessed he could scarcely avoid laughing at the absurdity of worshipping a lifeless stock.* This led to an investigation of the new rites: the popish doctrines of veneration of holy relics, use of images, fasts and feasts, were found strikingly analogous to their previous idolatry. To use the words of the chiefs, "This new religion was all about worshipping images and dead men's bones, and tabus on meat." Any one who has examined the external forms of the two systems, will perceive that this was a natural conclusion to their uninstructed minds. How far this similarity may have originated in the teachings of their early Spanish visitors, it would be an interesting query to determine. The usual objection will be urged, that the pictures and images were representations and memorials of divine things, and not in themselves objects of worship. The distinction between the idols and the spiritual essences, of which they were merely intended to convey the outward ideas, was equally as well understood by the priests and chiefs as the difference between the images of the Romish church and the holy personages whose impress they bore, was by enlightened Romanists. But in the mass of ignorant worshippers of either faith, this distinction was either altogether lost or little borne in remembrance. The chiefs and common orders universally recognised the identity of forms, and were fearful that the predictions of those foreigners who favoured its increase would prove true. The destruction of their old faith had brought civil war; the introduction of another, which, from its many points of semblance, was supposed would spread rapidly among the discontented, and those who looked back with desiring eyes "to the flesh-pots of Egypt," would occasion another. This was the more to be feared, as it had the active support of the British consul and his partisans. From these circumstances originated the hostility of the government to its introduction; with them it was a political question, as well as one of religious welfare. The strong connexion

* Manuscript Letter to William IV.

which the idolatry of their old system and the rites of the Romish church bore in their minds, was pointedly expressed by Kaahumanu, some time afterward, in her reply to Mr. Bingham, who remonstrated with her upon the punishment of the converts to that faith. "You have no law," said he, "that will apply." She immediately referred him to the edict against idolatry, promulgated in 1819, replying—"For their worship is like that which we have forsaken."

Thus much were the natural inferences of native intellect; other causes tended to strengthen their impressions. Boki's bias, both from conviction and prejudice, imbibed while in England, was decidedly Protestant; it has been seen how his opinions influenced the chiefs in their first decisions, before an acquaintance had been formed with these new rites. Foreigners, whose principles of the faith in which they had been instructed had not been swallowed up in hostility to all religion, or whose impressions of Romanism had been derived mostly from the vitiated priesthood of Spanish maritime America, strongly urged upon the government the impolicy of allowing its introduction. Some, with more zeal than prudence, taught them of the long and bloody persecutions of Europe, the inquisition, crusades, papal supremacy, and all the iniquities of its most corrupt age. These sunk deep into their minds, and their fears, magnified by ignorance of history, conjectured like evils for their dominions. The continued disregard of the priests to their injunctions, confirmed these sentiments.

As the proselytism of natives slowly progressed, and the Romish mission gave indications of permanency, the Protestant missionaries, by force of argument, teaching, and all the influence they could lawfully employ, endeavoured to arrest its progress. The minds of the chiefs were sufficiently established; the variable disposition of the mass was feared. Sermons, defending the theology of Protestantism, and attacking the dogmas of the hostile church, were uttered from every pulpit; tracts gave further circulation to their opinions, and

a war of discussion was commenced and actively pursued. Government lent its aid, and unfortunately for the principle, though necessarily for its support, church and state were united more closely than ever. In the American missionaries the chiefs saw friends who had triumphed over every prejudice, and proved their sincerity and devotedness by years of toil and usefulness. In the Frenchmen, lawless intruders, tools of a violent faction, that assailed both with equal acrimony. Consequently, the nation became confirmed in friendship toward the former, and more inimical to the latter. The American missionaries were charged with originating all the acts of the government, prejudicial to the priests and their neophytes. So far as their influence created an opposition to their tenets, this was true; it was due to their own principles, to the requests of the chiefs, and the desires of the people, that the errors of Romanism should be refuted; the more vigorous the attack, the more powerful the defence; yet there were found Protestants who reviled them, for not welcoming those whose success would have proved their destruction; and some even of their own number have felt a disposition to gloss over their efforts to oppose its establishment, as if ashamed of their zeal. So far as it may have exceeded the bounds of truth or charity—and in polemical contests words and arguments are not always sufficiently weighed—they may hang their heads. Multitudes can attest their views to have been derived from their teachings, but the government openly avowed its acts to be its own.

Every additional band of American missionaries was welcomed by the chiefs. Under their tuition, instruction was rapidly spread; a greater interest manifested in religious exercises, though the outward show of morality was far greater than its real progress.

The greatest obstacle to the advancement of Christianity, was the relapse of Boki and his wife, carrying with them a large number of adherents, who soon formed a dangerous party in the state. The rigidness of the chiefs more imme-

diately under the influence of the missionaries, was averse to the dispositions of these rulers; and the seductions of pleasure, and the unceasing importunities of foreign advisers, finally overcame their better resolutions. They abandoned themselves to intemperance; contracted debts, and squandered the resources which had been collected for extinguishing those of Liholiho. On a smaller scale, the general license of his reign was repeated, and the island of Oahu groaned under renewed exactions. Boki was induced to aim at the regency; the party that had led him astray, as easily bound him to the interests of the Papists, and for a while he was their steady friend, while they identified themselves with him, a conspirator against the government. The young king, likewise, fell into dissipation, and his example rendered this party the more dangerous. The life of Kaahumanu was endangered, and a complete revolution meditated. An attempt was made to corrupt many of the chiefs; largesses of lands were distributed, and numbers were drawn over to Boki, until he found himself at the head of a formidable conspiracy. Arms were prepared, and both sides expected some decisive movement. Boki encamped at Waikiki, Oahu, menacing the town of Honolulu. Kekuanaoa, his fellow-voyager to England, went alone to his camp, and by his persuasions finally induced him to give over any overt designs, and be reconciled with government. He resumed his offices, though still disaffected. Under his easy administration, the grosser practices of the inhabitants were in some degree revived, although no positive difficulties were experienced. Kaahumanu and the king made the tour of Oahu, and afterwards sailed for Maui, where Hoapili and Nahienaena joined them, in a progress around all the windward islands, by which the kingdom became quieted.

This year, 1829, the king began to take an active part in the affairs of government. He was now nearly sixteen years of age, and had improved much under the instruction of his teachers. On the 3d of July, a thatched meeting-house, one

hundred and sixty-nine feet in length by sixty-one in breadth, built by order of government, at Honolulu, was solemnly dedicated. Most of the high chiefs were present; the king appeared, dressed in his rich Windsor uniform; and his sister, superbly attired, sat beside him, on a sofa in front of the pulpit. Four thousand natives were assembled; before the religious exercises commenced, the king arose and addressed the congregation, saying that "he had built this house, and he now publicly gave it to God," and declared his wish that "his subjects should serve His laws and learn His word." After the services were closed, the princess made a similar address, and the king concluded by publicly engaging in prayer.

Complaint has been made against the Hawaiian government, that they too literally based their government upon the strictest moral principles of the Scriptures. It was fit that powerful remedies should be used for violent diseases. The crimes so prevalent were seen to violate the letter of the divine injunctions; consequently, the simple rules deduced from them were applied with a vigour and rigidness which formed a powerful contrast to the saturnalia of former years. As usual, the faults of execution were attributed to the missionaries, and they were charged with endeavouring to crush the free spirit of the nation, and substituting long prayers, fasting and preaching, for innocent recreations, and commercial pursuits. The inconsistency of expecting from untutored rulers, who were feeling their way toward civilisation, the perfection of legislation which centuries of experience had accumulated in more favoured countries, never influenced a liberality of sentiment with their defamers. Those who had lived so long away from moral restraint, were restless under its spread. That savages, on whose sensuality they had gloated, and from whose resources wealth had been created, should dare to bring them within the pale of the law, was an insult beyond endurance. As the folds of a better public opinion gathered around them, the more bitter but useless were their struggles.

On the 7th of October, the king issued a proclamation in his own name, and that of the regent and the high chiefs, in which he declared that the laws of his kingdom forbade murder, theft, licentiousness, retailing ardent spirits, sabbath-breaking and gambling, and that these laws would be equally enforced on subject and foreigner. This was the more necessary, as cases of collision not unfrequently occurred, which, if not brought within the reach of government, would eventually lead to retaliation and revenge.* The vengeance of their respective governments had been frequently denounced by American and English residents, should the chiefs dare extend their jurisdiction over them. They had long revelled with impunity in vice; what if ardent spirits wrought disease and misery; it lined their pockets with silver; was this to be abolished, and they made to live as they once had in their native lands? What if carousals, horse-races, and excursions of pleasure, broke in upon the quiet of the day of rest; it was a joy to them; for the welfare of a nation, their selfishness was not to be infringed. The rights of man and conscience would have been violated. Crowds of natives might perish, unnoticed and unpitied, in merciless exposure and hardships in collecting sandal-wood and treasures to purchase

* Mr. Charlton occasionally undertook violently to interfere with the duties of the police. About this time a cow, belonging to a foreigner, which had repeatedly broken into the plantations of the natives and injured their crops, was, after several ineffectual remonstrances by the sufferers, shot by one of them. The native farmers had frequently received much damage from the carelessness of the owners of cattle in not properly providing pasturage for them, and had long forborne retaliation; the killing of the cow was in strict accordance with an old law, which allowed any punishment to be inflicted upon trespassers within enclosed property. The foreigners availed themselves of its privileges, and some of the cattle of the natives had been put to death for the same offence. Instead of entering any complaint before the chiefs, Charlton, with another foreigner, proceeded on horseback to the residence of the native who had committed the deed, pulled him from his house, put a rope around his neck, and, tying it to his saddle, set out at a brisk rate for the town. The poor fellow kept up as well as he could; but, becoming exhausted, fell, and was dragged by his neck along the road. His sufferings would soon have terminated by death, had not a native, who fortunately came up, ran and cut the rope. The authors of this cruelty rode quietly into town, while their victim was taken up more dead than alive.

their goods; but to build a church, attend schools, or be obliged to cease for one day in seven from the riot and noise of the other six, was unheard-of intolerance. Poor, oppressed men! why did ye not wander to the more congenial atmosphere of the Marquesas and Fiji groups? No man of God would then have conjured up shades of virtue, or awakened the memories of earlier influences. No! in all its *innocency* there still reigned the golden age of heathenism.

Previous to this enactment, it had been promulged, that "Christian marriage was proper for man and woman; and, to put an end to the polygamy and polyandry of the natives, as well as to draw a veil over the dissoluteness of foreigners, penalties were enforced for violation of the statute. All who continued to live with one partner, after a certain date, were to be considered legally man and wife. An act like this had become necessary, to check the most prominent sin of the nation, and to enforce the sanctity of that relation upon which, above all others, the well-being of society depends.

Strange as it may appear at this day, although the most vicious could but acquiesce in its propriety, long-indulged passion created opposition; this was greatly increased by the proclamation of the king. Mr. Charlton, with pompous words, endeavoured to bully the chiefs; he declared it necessary for all laws passed by them to receive the sanction of the king of England: five hundred men were said to be under his control, and it was boasted that he had sufficient force to depose the regent, remove the governors, take possession of the forts, and imprison the royal family. His own creatures were to be appointed to office. But the chiefs knew the man, and his threats were unheeded. Unawed by the menaces of opposition, they steadily pursued a policy which had become necessary for the preservation of order. Those who now stood at the head of the nation had once been drunkards, and none were better qualified to judge of the evils arising from the use of ardent spirits. They were well acquainted with the strength of the acquired taste which prevailed among their people; and were

convinced that restriction alone could prevent its increase. On no point had a greater effort of principle been shown. And the policy then established has been, with occasional relapses, steadily pursued to the present time. Boki let land at Oahu for sugar plantations, the produce of which was to be converted into rum. Kaahumanu at once rescinded the lease ; and from that period it has been the condition on which all lands are leased, that no ardent spirits are to be manufactured.

The arrival of the U. S. ship Vincennes, Captain Finch, soon after these attempts at establishing a polity which should embrace all classes and misdemeanours, confirmed the resolution of the chiefs. The government of the United States had sent gifts to the king, regent, and principal chiefs, which were presented in form ; also a letter, congratulating them on the progress of civilisation and religion in his dominions, and recommending earnest attention to " the religion of the Christian's Bible." It also added, " the President also anxiously hopes that peace and kindness and justice will prevail between your people and those citizens of the United States who visit your islands, and that the regulations of your government will be such as to enforce them upon all. Our citizens who violate your laws, or interfere with your regulations, violate at the same time their duty to their own government and country, and merit censure and punishment." Here was a positive condemnation of the conduct of Lieutenant Percival, and ample sanction to the new legislation. The rage of those whose assertions were so speedily and unexpectedly set at nought, was extreme, and vented in a protest of singular nature to the American government.* The advice bestowed by Captain Finch was of the most judicious character, and his whole intercourse of eminent utility to the best interests of the nation and his countrymen. Through his negotiations,

* Their folly has been so fully exposed in the " Retrospective View of a Visit to the Hawaiian Islands," addressed by Captain Finch to the Secretary of the Navy, that I have inserted an extract from his communication in the appendix. It also contains many correct views of the then existing state of things, and is a valuable document.

debts to Americans to the amount of fifty thousand dollars were acknowledged, with a pledge of speedy liquidation. The payment was to be made in sandal-wood, and the several islands were assessed their respective amounts. After the departure of the Vincennes, its collection was industriously enforced.

In November, a vessel arrived at Honolulu, from which it was communicated to Boki, that somewhere in the South Pacific, an island abounding in sandal-wood had been fallen in with. Its situation was a secret, known only to few; one of the number proposed to the governor to fit out an expedition, and take possession of it. The prospect of so speedily acquiring wealth, and the desire of wiping out his debts and retrieving his credit, was too tempting to be resisted. The beautiful man-of-war brig Kamehameha, and a smaller one, were selected. Each were well provided with arms and ammunition, and stores for colonising. Including soldiers, sailors, and attendants, nearly five hundred people embarked. Among them were the flower of the youth of Oahu, enticed by visions of gold and conquest. Ten foreigners also were enlisted, for the navigation of the vessels. The command of the smaller vessel, the Becket, was given to Manui, a confidential agent of the governor's, and who had made the voyage to England with him. Although of but one hundred tons, one hundred and seventy-nine individuals were crowded on board, for a long voyage, through the tropics. With Boki, the press was even greater. Hastily equipped, and insufficiently manned, they sailed on the 2d of December, against the advice and remonstrances of many of the merchants, who endeavoured to induce Boki to abandon the undertaking. The infatuation which pervaded the minds of the youths was equal to the lust of gold, which led thousands of Spanish hidalgoes, in earlier days, from homes of comfort and happiness, to scenes of toil, famine, and death. Women wailed the departure of their husbands, sons, and brothers, as if the grave had closed upon them. Previous to his departure, Boki thus addressed his

people: "Attend, my friends, hear what I have to say; you know my sin is great; it smells from Hawaii to Kauai: it is enormous, and it is my own, and not another's. I am about to undertake a voyage to extinguish the debt of the king, and not for unworthy purposes."

The expedition first touched at the island of Rotuma, one of the New Hebrides. Here discontent from the hardships of the voyage began to arise. Boki treated the inhabitants of that little isle with the rapacity of a conqueror; and finally compelled a number to work in cutting sandal-wood. Erromanga, the island to which they were bound, was distant but a few days' sail. Boki having completed his preparations, sailed ten days in advance of the Becket. His fate has never been with certainty ascertained. But from the careless habits of the natives with their pipes, and the quantity of powder on deck, it is conjectured that the brig was blown up, though not a fragment, which could be identified, has ever been found. The Becket arrived at Erromanga, and not meeting her consort, her disastrous end could only be conjectured. Manui remained there five weeks, committing outrages on the natives, which led to frequent hostilities. The object of the expedition was entirely defeated. A distemper prevailed which destroyed many; among them Manui. The Becket then sailed for Oahu, and a scene of horror ensued, which baffles description. Crowded with the sick, the dying and dead, the vessel became a floating charnel-house. The sufferings of the living were aggravated by famine; under a burning sun, enduring agonies of thirst, without medicines, or skill to take care of the sick; feebler and fainter, day by day, arose the groans of the sufferers, and the wails of the almost equally helpless crew. The slow progress of the brig was tracked by corpses. The conduct of the foreigners, who seem to have been wrapt in the selfishness of despair, was barbarous, and its remembrance inflames the resentment of relatives to this day. The dying, as well as the dead, were reported to have been cast overboard. In addition to their original numbers, forty-seven

natives of Rotuma were on board; and out of the two hundred and twenty-six souls that composed the brig's company, but twenty returned, and of these, eight were foreigners. Twenty natives had been left at Rotuma, on their way, some of whom afterwards found their way back. On the 3d of August, 1830, the Becket arrived at Honolulu, and as the news of the disaster spread, the voice of weeping and wailing was heard by night and by day. The loss of so many active, intelligent men, was a severe blow to the nation. Kaahumanu was on Kauai when the expedition was fitted out; had she been present, it is supposed she would have prevented its departure.

Oahu had been left in charge of Liliha, and Kaikoewa resumed the guardianship of the king. Previous to his departure, Boki seemed desirous of regaining the esteem of his fellow chiefs. He had issued an order, August 8th, at the command of Kaahumanu, forbidding the natives to attend the religious services of the Papists. It was found that their proselytes refused to attend schools, or receive the rudiments of instruction; and that through their influence, the party hostile to the chiefs was increasing. However, permission was granted for the continuance of their labours among foreigners, but they were enjoined not to allow natives to enter their chapel. Despite of this injunction, numbers received instruction; force was then used to compel their absence, and at this time commenced what has been called "the persecution." Religious intoleration cannot be justified; but the question arises, how far the policy of the government partook of that character? When the manner of the introduction of the priests is considered, and the contumely they exhibited toward the government, persevering in remaining against the wishes of the rulers, who were disinclined to employ force, its leniency is the more remarkable: especially when the imperious Kaahumanu held the reins of state. It is true that Boki favoured them, but only when in rebellion against the legitimate authorities, and in connexion with the

enemies of the nation. Leaning on him, and duped by the party headed by the English consul, they and their converts, which were very few, unfortunately became identified with them.

Political views, quite as much as religious, occupied their attention; and it was to Boki that they gave their support, as the aspirant for the highest office in the kingdom. A complete revolution was to attend his success. It was the desire of license that influenced the mass of his partisans; creeds, whether Papal or Protestant, were of little consequence in their eyes, though they were glad to strengthen their cause by such valuable auxiliaries as bigots, or sincere converts to novel doctrines, invariably make. The government unwisely imposed fines and imprisonment upon the latter. Too powerless to have disturbed the peace of the state, it would have been a more merciful and wiser policy to have let them alone; but it is not surprising that rulers just emerging from the grossest despotism, should employ more of physical force than charity; and that, too, in an age when England, by oppression and injustice, strips the poor dissenter of his earnings, to support a hostile creed, and deems opposition a crime to the state; and France, under the plea of preventing political assemblies, imposes restraints upon the worship of Protestants. Bad as are both causes, the cruelties and arbitrariness of the latter two governments have and still exceed in these respects any acts of the former. Expostulation, entreaties and advice were first used; and it was not until the chiefs were defied, that they were confined, and set to work in making stone-walls, repairing roads, and fabricating mats; labours to which they had been accustomed from their infancy, but now aggravated by filthy lodgings, bad food, and the contempt and rudeness common to the lowest orders, particularly of natives, with whom malevolence to the unfortunate had always been an active principle. They were punished for idolatry; and they who repeated the offence five times, either by worshipping at the chapel, or indulging in their old

rites, were obliged to remove the filth of the fort with their hands. Instead of the inhumanity of these acts being attributed to the American missionaries, their mildness, in comparison with the bloody executions which would have awaited these offenders but a few years before, is owing to the humanizing spirit of the Christianity they had introduced. Nine years of instruction had sufficed to produce the change. What might not have been hoped for in as many to come? But individuals, too prejudiced and narrow-minded to acknowledge or ascertain the truth, charged those whose labours had been emphatically turned toward extinguishing the barbarism of the olden regime, with the sole responsibility. The American missionaries would have rejoiced to have seen Romanism driven from the land, through the extension of enlightened public sentiment; but not one proof can be shown that they ever advocated cruelty. Individual instances there were of those whose minds, illiberalised by sectarianism, looked on with reprehensible apathy; but the spirit of the body was far different.

Romanists to the number of thirty, men and women, were incorporated in the ranks of common malefactors, and from time to time for several years, made liable to similar punishments. But their sufferings have been greatly exaggerated.

In ten years from the commencement of the mission, nine hundred schools, taught by native teachers, were established, and forty-four thousand eight hundred and ninety-five learners brought under their influence. Rude and ignorant as were the former, they proved useful to the latter by aiding in forming correct habits, and withdrawing them from scenes of doubtful good.

In May, 1830, the king and Kaahumanu visited the windward islands; the government of Oahu remaining in the hands of Liliha and her partisans. The laws of 1829 were suffered to fall into disuse; immorality again abounded; and gaming and drunkenness were unpunished. Liliha prepared to maintain her supremacy by an appeal to arms, as it had been

rumoured that she was to be removed. The sympathies of a large body of foreigners were with her, and much excitement prevailed. The king publicly committed the charge of affairs to Kaahumanu, who immediately appointed her brother Kuakini governor of Oahu. Naihe was left in charge of Hawaii. No chief was more capable in an exigency than Kuakini; to the stern spirit of his father, he joined the intelligence derived from superior advantages. He spoke English well, and was considered the most keen-sighted and shrewdest of the chieftains. Troops were landed secretly, and at several points at once, on Oahu; the forts and military stores secured; and the revolutionary party completely overawed, and its leaders supplanted in office. He entered upon the duties of his station with a determination of enforcing the very letter of the law; this was done with a rigour which gave cause of offence to many foreigners, but his sternness quelled every appearance of insubordination. He was equal to the task of subduing the impertinence of lawless whites, and compelling them to keep within their proper spheres. At the same time his officers, with a rudeness which was inexcusable, entered private houses, and carried liquor from tables. Horses were seized for their owners violating the law respecting the Sabbath, but were eventually released. The violence with which the statutes were now enforced contrasted forcibly with the laxity of the previous rule. Armed bands paraded the streets; grog-shops, gaming-houses, and haunts of dissipation, were suppressed; even quiet riding on Sundays was forbidden. But the strong arm of government was not capable of infusing order and sobriety into a dissolute population; though outward decorum prevailed, far preferable to the former laxity of society, secret means of indulgence were sought out; all his measures met at first a strong opposition, and many continued to be evaded. It was proposed to sell rum to foreigners only: Kuakini replied, "To horses, cattle, and hogs, you may sell rum; but to real men you must not on these shores." A national temperance

society was formed, in the objects of which the chiefs cordially united.

Entirely to suppress all opposition to government, Kuakini next determined to send away the Romish priests; on the 2d of April, 1831, they were summoned to the fort, and ordered to leave the islands in three months. As they manifested no disposition to comply, this order was repeated twice afterward. The course of the priests is somewhat remarkable, and sufficiently obstinate and deceptive to have caused harsher measures in a more civilised nation.* Meanwhile, they continued their labours, and among the disappointed adherents of Liliha gained some new converts; the most noted of whom was an aged sister of Peiolani, the late king of Oahu, who perished at the battle of Nuuanu, but whose family, though deprived of all political influence, was, by the clemency of Kamehameha, allowed to retain many of the advantages of their former rank. She died in 1837.

* "That we might appear to yield in some degree to the demands of the chiefs, and to avoid irritating them, we took care, when any vessel was about to depart, to request, in writing, of the captain, a gratuitous passage. We did this in respect to several; and as they knew our intentions, they answered us, also in writing, and absolutely refused to grant our request; for no captain was willing to engage in executing the sentence pronounced against us.

"A short time afterward, a Prussian vessel arrived the captain of which brought presents from the king of Prussia to the young king of the Sandwich islands. The arrival of this vessel furnished an occasion for a new attempt to compel us to leave the archipelago. The governor of Hawaii reappeared. 'Here,' said he to me, 'is a ship from near your own country. It will conduct you to your own land.' 'What you say is reasonable,' I replied, 'but who will pay my passage?' I came here with nothing but my body and the word of God; my heart has not been upon the things of this world; I have amassed no money.' 'Perhaps he will take you for nothing.' 'It is possible; but ask him yourself, and we shall see.' Kuakini retired with this answer. The captain came to see us; I explained to him our situation; he obligingly offered to receive us on board of his vessel, if we wished to depart; but if not he told us to make an application to him in writing, and to dictate the answer which we wished him to make: which was done. The governor of Hawaii also went to see him, and urged him to take charge of us. The Prussian captain answered him that he would do it with pleasure, but that before M. Patrick and I could come on board, he must be paid five thousand dollars, (more than twenty-five thousand francs.) The poor governor had a great desire to rid himself of us, but he was still more anxious to keep his money. He was therefore obliged to abandon his project." [Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, vol. x. p. 370.]

The duplicity of the priests being now too manifest to be longer disregarded, if the government wished to retain even the shadow of power within their own kingdom, it was decided to send them away at the public expense. It is evident throughout all the transactions of the Jesuits and their partisans, that they wished to irritate the chiefs to measures which, exaggerated and distorted by their representations, should wear the appearance of religious persecution, and by an apparent breach of the laws of nations, involve them with their respective governments. Unfortunately, they succeeded but too well, and the undesired presence of these Papists, with the equally unprovoked insults of their supporters, were at last crowned by the unjust interference of France. More patience and forbearance on the one hand, and greater contempt and abuse of power on the other, history rarely shows.

Letters had been received from the prefect of the Roman Catholic missions in California, inviting the priests to their aid, as their services were greatly needed. It was determined to land them in that country; accordingly a native brig, the Waverley, commanded by an English captain (Sumner), was fitted out for that service, at an expense of one thousand dollars. On the 7th of December, Kaahumanu issued a proclamation, in which she stated the reasons for thus sending them off; that they had remained in defiance of their orders, and by them some of the people had been led into seditious practices; that their plea for not leaving before had been, "We have no vessel to go in:" "therefore we put them on board our vessel, to carry them to a place where the service is like their own." Certainly, for barbarians, a humane consideration to be exercised toward such obstinate contemners of their laws.

On the 24th they were embarked; and on the 28th of January, 1832, were landed at San Pedro, California, where they were soon welcomed into the mission of San Gabriel, without incurring further hardship than is incidental to all

travellers in those parts. The mechanics of the mission were suffered to remain.

Kaahumanu* died the 5th of June following, in the 58th year of her age. She was a firm and conscientious Christian to the last; beloved by those who intimately knew her, and universally respected for her abilities. Her remains were deposited in the royal tomb at Honolulu, beside those of Liholiho and Kamamalu.

After the death of Naihe, which occurred in December, 1831, Kuakini returned to his proper government of Hawaii, where his efforts for the forcible suppression of vice were as vigorous as at Oahu, in which Kapiolani, with more gentleness and judgment, joined.

In August, 1832, the U. S. frigate Potomac, Commodore Downes, arrived at Honolulu. That distinguished commander exerted himself to enlighten the minds of the chiefs, while he treated them with the courtesy due to their station. His visit, like that of all American commanders, since Percival, was productive of good, and increased the favour of the nation toward his countrymen, by his just and honourable diplomatic intercourse.

In the early part of 1833, Kauikeaouli assumed the responsibilities of government, Kinau holding the same relative situation to him, under the title of Kaahumanu II. that her stepmother did to Liholiho. The character and capabilities of Kinau were very similar to those of her predecessor; before her conversion she was haughty, cruel and dissolute; after-

* The faith she entertained of a happy immortality, was simple and yet effective. On the night of the 4th, when her end was expected, she remarked, (referring to the custom of her nation, which requires new houses to be erected in whatever part of their territories the royal family were to visit,) "The way that I am going the *house* is prepared—send the thoughts thither rejoicing." Her attachment to the members of the mission was of the most devoted nature, mingled with gratitude for the change they had been instrumental in effecting. When the life of one of their number was threatened, at Lahaina, and fears were entertained that violence would be attempted by certain foreigners, she sent for him to come to Honolulu. Upon landing, taking him by the hand, she led him through the fort, and showed him her magazines of arms, and her soldiers;—"These," said she, "are all mine, and both they and I shall perish before harm reaches you.

ward firm, conscientious and temperate. The king had acquired a great fondness for nautical affairs, and as most of their fine vessels had been wrecked, desired to purchase a brig at an expense of twelve thousand dollars. This, Kinau and the other chiefs opposed, upon the ground of the impolicy of incurring further debts, while their old were undischarged. The king reluctantly yielded; he had been an apt scholar, and had given, thus far, proofs of an amiable disposition, and a desire to rule with sobriety. But power and youthful passions are strong temptations; of themselves they might have been sufficient to have led him into a course of dissipation, in which the affairs of government would have been relaxed. But the endeavours of certain foreigners, Charlton at their head, were unwearied to wean him from all religious obligations, and render him an easy tool in their hands. The power of Boki's faction was too far gone to allow of hope in that quarter. But by pandering to the low tastes of a semi-savage monarch, he might be won. Accordingly he was plied with tempting wines and liquors, until his better resolutions were overpowered, and he acquired a desire as strong as that of his predecessor: though his indulgence was by no means equal. Seduced by such characters, he avoided his counsellors, and sought the society of young, unprincipled men. It was urged upon him to take off all tabus; the real desires of the natives, and the hopelessness of the labours of the missionaries, would then be apparent. The generally moral condition, was declared to be entirely owing to the absolutism of the chiefs; and if they turned, the nation would follow. That this was partly true, no missionary could deny. They numbered but few real converts, though they justly claimed the amelioration of manners, the desire of instruction, and much of the gradual change for the better, to be the result of their labours. Still following the example of the rulers, it had become fashionable to be of their belief; all important offices were in their hands; and interest more than intelligence conspired to produce an outward conformity to morality. While num-

bers, to the best of their abilities, were Christians, thousands joined their ranks from unworthy motives; perhaps in no instances have the united cunning and mendacity of the Hawaiian character been more strikingly displayed than in their stratagems to deceive their religious teachers. By fraud, by even giving up much-loved sins, and by ready knowledge of the scriptures, many managed to become church members, because by it their importance was increased, and their chances of political preferment better. This is too *Christian* a practice for civilized men to wonder at. Deceived by appearances, the friends of the mission exaggerated their success. Now was thought the opportunity of putting it to the test.

The principles of the king had become loosened, and he longed to indulge in the forbidden pleasures of his race. The moment was opportune; he was persuaded, and finally gave the signal. Hoapili hastened to Honolulu, to endeavour to arrest the torrent, and persuade the king to retire with him to Lahaina. But he had gone too far to retract. He immediately issued a proclamation, centering in himself all legal authority, the power of life and death, and taking off all penalties of the laws, excepting those for murder, theft and adultery; the latter at any time was almost a dead letter. Foreigners were to be protected in their persons and property. The consequences of the sweeping away of moral restraint and municipal regulations in a well-ordered community, can be imagined; how far worse the consequences among a dissolute population, ripe for crime, lust, debauchery and revenge! The scene that followed beggars description. Some remained faithful to their instructions, and had the amount of missionary good been confined to those few, their labours would have been amply repaid. The worst scenes were enacted at Honolulu, but a general civil and moral anarchy prevailed throughout the group. Schools were deserted, teachers relapsed, congregations were thinned, excesses abounded, and in some places, especially in the district of

Hilo, Hawaii, idolatrous worship was again performed. Several churches were burned, and some lives lost. Groggeries were opened, and distilleries set in motion. The wild orgies of heathenism rioted over the land; men left their wives, wives their husbands; parents, brothers, sisters, and relatives, united like beasts, in common prostitution; they gambled, they fought, for old grudges were then scored off; they drank, and they revelled. Kinau, surrounded by a faithful few, dared not venture without the walls of the fort: her person would have been as common as the lowliest female. Kaikoewa, and some of the old warriors, wished, by force of arms, to compel the king to put a stop to such a course; but more peaceful counsels prevailed, and it was thought best to let the passions of the mass exhaust themselves. The king retired to the west part of Honolulu, and there, countenanced by Charlton, who boasted that the American missionaries would be sent off on the arrival of the next English armed vessel, and attended by bottle companions, indulged in continuous debauchery. Several times was he visited by Mr. Bingham, who endeavoured to reclaim him, by kindly but forcible monitions. He was treated with respect, and his remonstrances had an effect the king was unwilling to acknowledge. The princess, though almost equally giddy and volatile, became alarmed, and was incessant in affectionate endeavours to reclaim her brother. Urged by pernicious counsels, he had determined to remove Kinau from the regency, and substitute Liliha. The partisans of the latter assembled around him, and were clamorous for the event. It was to have been done publicly; the chiefs were present; the revocation was on his lips, when he unexpectedly turned to Kinau, and solemnly confirmed her in office. The effect was electric; all perceived the days of misrule were numbered. When expostulated with for not carrying out his intention, he gave the significant reply, "very strong is the kingdom of God."

In their relation of this reaction, the Roman Catholics,

though they appear to rejoice in its effects, so far as it was injurious to Protestantism, yet are obliged to confess, that even among their converts, the " piety of some appeared to grow cold."—(Annals, May, 1840.) A singularly mild form of expressing the actual extent of their relapse.

For awhile the king wavered between two courses; sometimes dissolute, at others respectful, and attending divine worship. Multitudes, wearied by their excesses, or disgusted with scenes which had long been given over, returned to their teachers, and confessed they had had enough; they were satisfied that law and order were better; the experiment had been tried, and demonstrated as useless. The contrast between such times, when neither life nor property were safe —when sensuality became palsied with excess—when revenge and gambling begat insatiable desires, and the peaceful systems of education, commercial pursuits, and united households, was made so apparent to the advantage of the latter, that it would have been found difficult to have again renewed the former. It was the final effort of the disorganizers to bring about a revolution; and it cannot be doubted that some among their ranks shrank in affright from the foul phantom they had conjured up. Its effects were long felt, especially by individuals; families were for ever separated—healths ruined—limbs bruised or broken—and much property squandered or destroyed. No foreigner suffered, except in the interruption of business and anxiety for the results.

In 1834, the reaction of the previous year began to be conspicuous. The king again gave sanction to the laws, and the traffic in ardent spirits was mostly suppressed everywhere, except at Oahu. Efficient aid to the cause of temperance was afforded by shipmasters, who had long experienced evils from the use of ardent spirits among their crews, and were anxious to see its sale altogether discontinued. At Honolulu it was finally put under certain restrictions, which prevented much of the former disorder. The king derived an annual revenue from the licenses issued for the privilege of retailing.

CHAPTER XI.

1836—Further history of the Jesuits—Arrival of the French sloop-of-war Bonite—H. B. M. S. Acteon—Lord Edward Russell—Diplomatic intercourse—Treaties—Return of priests from California, 1837—Ordered on board the Clementine—Abandoned to government—Burning of the flag by English consul—Armed interference of Captains Belcher, of the Sulphur, and Du Petit Thouars, of the Venus frigate—Account of official intercourse—Treaty negotiated—Arrival of Imogene frigate—Another arrival of priests—Sent away—Edict against Romanism—Further persecution—Religious toleration proclaimed by the king, 17th June, 1839—Proceeding of foreign residents at Honolulu—Admixture of religious and political movements of the French in the Pacific—Policy—Arrival of L'Artemise frigate, Laplace, commander—Blockade of the port of Honolulu—Manifesto—Demands—Agreed to—History of commercial treaty—Interview with king—Arrival of French bishop—Deaths of Kinau, Kaikoewa, and Liliha, 1839—Progress of Roman Catholicism—Probable results—Fresh difficulties incited, 1842—Visit and demands of the corvette L'Embuscade, Captain Mallet, September—Designs of the French upon the Hawaiian islands—Change of governmental policy—Character of—Causes—Constitution of 1840—Laws—Supremacy of—Treasury system—Duties—Religious knowledge and condition—Credit due American missionaries—Comparison between the reigns of Kamehameha and Kauikeouli—Commerce and Christianity—Mechanical advancement—Agricultural ditto—Capability of Hawaiians—Influence of foreign families.

NOTWITHSTANDING the banishment of the Jesuits, and the entire suppression of their partisans, as a political party, a powerful influence was at work to recall them. The mechanics left behind acted as catechists, and served to keep alive the embers of the faith among the few native converts. Charlton, still active in the cause, corresponded with the exiles. In 1835, the pope sent them a brief, exhorting them to persevere in the attempt at Oahu. The party was strengthened by the arrival of a Mr. Robert Walsh, an Irish priest, educated at Paris. He landed at Honolulu the 30th of September, 1836. As soon as his clerical character was known, he was required to leave, but obtained permission to remain until the arrival of H. B. M. ship Acteon, Lord

Edward Russell, commander, which was daily expected. On the 7th of October, Mr. Walsh was officially informed that he would not be allowed to remain permanently. The day succeeding, the French sloop-of-war Bonite, Captain Vaillant, arrived; and he was immediately waited upon to engage his influence in his favour. Seconded by the exertions of the English consul, who claimed the privilege of his being allowed to remain, regardless of his profession, M. Vaillant procured permission for him, with the proviso that he should make no attempts to propagate his religion. This, Mr. Walsh confesses in his correspondence with his employers, he violated whenever it could be safely done. He was a man of low habits and violent temper; well suited, by congenial tastes, to secure the good will of the partisans of his predecessors. The Acteon arrived on the 23rd, and the Bonite sailed the ensuing day. Captain Russell, prejudiced by the ex-parte statements of the English consul, actively interfered in behalf of the Romish priests. Captain Jones, of the Peacock, in 1826, had first set the example of negotiating a treaty with the Hawaiian government,* in which the rights of the subjects of both countries were generally defined. Defective as it was in some important points, it had been of eminent utility; though individual instances had occurred in which it had been held up to the native government as a bugbear, by which advantages or selfish interests, not contemplated in its spirit, might be secured. Violations of treaties, breaking the laws of nations, visits of avenging men-of-war, had been so often uttered, that they had lost their meaning; and it would not have been surprising if, in the constant efforts to entangle them, the native authorities should have given some occasion of complaint. The discussions which had arisen from time to time, on account of alleged grievances, particularly when Commodore Kennedy, of the United States East India Squadron, was present, in 1836, had gradually enlarged their ideas of a national

* See Appendix II.

polity, and given them a better understanding of the laws of nations. Those commanders who have acted with justice and moderation, and by impartial decisions gained the good will of the high-minded of the foreigners, as well as that of the natives, have invariably been followed by the sneers and abuse of those who had sought their aid to prosecute unjust claims, or had endeavoured to infuse the poison of their own malignity into their minds. In Captain Russell, a gay and thoughtless young nobleman, that party found a man accessible to their views, and reckless of their motives. It was thought a favourable opportunity to secure a treaty, in which the most favourable terms should be inserted, and, willing or not, the government obliged to give their sanction. The attempt was made; a definite period for its signature was insisted upon; and at the end of that time, if it were not received, the frigate was to coerce them by her guns. Whatever influence these bullyings may have had, the document which was finally signed fully confirmed the government in all their legal rights, while it placed upon a firmer basis usages of English subjects which had heretofore been only tacitly admitted.* It is probable that neither Lord Russell nor the consul dared risk the displeasure of their government, by any act which, in its official bearing, should manifest the gross injustice they secretly desired to perpetrate. The point on which the Hawaiian government would yield the least, was that on which the principle of their internal polity was based, the unalienable tenure of the soil. Foreign wealth and property had greatly increased; much of it was in houses or farms, occupying lands which had been the gifts of friendship from various chiefs, or the reward of services. In all such cases they argued, that they were held on the same principle as those of their own subjects; and were incapable of transmission. The "Indian gift" was but for the occupancy or lifetime of the possessor. Disputes had arisen in consequence, and innovations constantly occurred, by

* See Appendix III.

which some lands came to be held in perpetuity by foreigners, while all wished to obtain a like concession. Houses had been demolished and removed upon the departure of the occupants, and the lands reverted to the chiefs. A few leases had been obtained, but no representative value received; foreigners were desirous of obtaining tracts suitable for extended agricultural enterprises. The importance of developing the resources of the soil was fully acknowledged by the chiefs, but the fear of losing their legal control, by yielding the right of cultivation, was a stronger motive. It was a subject which had already been a source of much vexation, and at this time their ideas were not sufficiently enlightened to enable them to comprehend the distinction between deeding the right of soil, and retaining the sovereignty. Consequently, Lord Russell was only able to obtain the recognition of the privilege to sell, or transfer, with the consent of the king; the important clause was also formally inserted, that English subjects shall be permitted to reside on the islands only as long as they conformed to the laws.

Notwithstanding this provision, which was agreed to in full knowledge of the edict against Romanism, Walsh, supported by the consul, although detected in violating his agreement, refused to leave. He was forbidden to open the chapel. Information had been sent the priests at California that the moment for them to return was opportune; that the king had pledged himself to Captain Vaillant to protect them, and that the treaty made by Lord Russell would effectually cover the landing of Short. It appears they doubted of their success; for it was agreed that Short should land secretly, and, after continuing for some time in concealment, claim the right of stopping under the provision of the treaty which allowed English subjects freely to land and remain, but contained, in the same paragraph, the sentence, "with the consent of the king," which the English consul, in all cases, studiously disguised. Bachelot was to attempt to land openly; if prevented, to hold intercourse with the natives from the

vessels in the harbour, and if unable to effect this, to leave for the South Pacific. A more barefaced conspiracy to deceive government, in the very teeth of a treaty, dictated by their own party, never existed.

They arrived at Honolulu on the 17th of April, 1837, in the brigantine Clementine, wearing English colours, though the property of Jules Dudoit, a Frenchman. She had been chartered by an American for the voyage to California; upon their landing much excitement prevailed. Kekuanaoa, governor of Oahu, ordered the captain of the brig to receive them on board. He refused, saying he had no control over the vessel; the owner was next applied to; he declined to receive them, except by their own desire; in case they were forced on board, he said that he should abandon his vessel and look to his government for redress. He also stated, that, as the brigantine was chartered, he exercised no control over her movements, thus dodging the responsibility. An order was sent the priests on the 19th to prepare to depart.* The king was absent at Maui, where he and Kinau had recently gone to deposit the remains of his sister, who died December 31, 1836, to the great grief of the nation. She was equally beloved by foreigners and subjects, to all of whom she had endeared herself by her sweetness of disposition. Lilihoku, the son and heir of Kalaimoku, was her husband. One child had resulted from their union, which, if it had lived, would have been heir to the throne.

His majesty received a despatch from Kekuanaoa on the 26th, informing him of the recent events. The decision of the governor was confirmed, and, on the 29th, a proclamation

* *Honolulu, Oahu, April* 19, 1837.

This is what I have to say to *the Frenchmen*:

This is my opinion to both of you, who were sent away before from these islands, that you are forbidden by our chiefs to come here, this is the reason I asked you, if you intended to live here, the answer you made was "no, we intend to stop here for a few days until we can obtain a vessel to carry us from here." I replied, "when you get a vessel go quickly." This is what I say to both of you, from this time prepare yourselves to depart in the same vessel in which you arrived; when the vessel is ready, both of you are to go without delay. NA KEKUANAOA.

issued, declaring the perpetual banishment of the priests.* They were required to return to the Clementine, and Kinau arrived at Honolulu to enforce the edict. The priests resolutely refused to go. The Clementine had been made ready for another voyage. It was resolved to put the priests on board, and compel them to depart in her. Officers were deputed to see them off; on the 20th of May, two days before the appointed time of sailing, they waited upon them with the orders of government. Bachelot inquired if force would be used; they replied that they were to be compelled, if any resistance was experienced. The priests then drew up formal protests against the violence, before the English consul, who had been active in urging them to this opposition. Actuated by the laudable motive of endeavouring to excite the passions of the constables appointed to conduct them on board to some act which should appear like outrage, and implicate their rulers, he told them the vessel was tabu, and that any one who approached her would be shot; adding, "Come on, come on! You are cowards."† Several hours were consumed in preparation, and at three o'clock, P.M., the police informed the priests it was time to leave. They were conducted to the wharf. The priests, before stepping into the boat, induced the officer in charge to touch them, that the appearance of force might be made

* PROCLAMATION.—Ye strangers all from foreign lands who are in my dominions, both residents and those recently arrived, I make known my word to you all, that you may understand my orders.

The *men of France* whom Kaahumanu banished, are under the same unaltered order up to this period. The rejection of these men is perpetual, confirmed by me at the present time. I will not assent to their remaining in my dominions.

These are my orders to them, that they go back immediately on board the vessel on which they have come, that they stay on board her till that vessel on board which they came, sails, that is to me clearly right, but their abiding here I do not wish.

I have no desire that the service of the missionaries who follow the Pope should be performed in my kingdom, not at all.

Wherefore, all who shall be encouraging the Papal missionaries, I shall regard as enemies to me, to my counsellors, to my chiefs, to my people, and to my kingdom. (Signed) KAMEHAMEHA III.

† Tracy's History, p. 253.

more apparent. Arriving at the Clementine, they were ordered off by the mate in charge. M. Dudoit then hurried on board, and the boat arriving the second time, thinking that sufficient opposition had been shown to answer his ends, hauled down his flag, and permitted the entrance of the priests. He ordered the crew ashore, and carried the flag to Charlton, who, as a finale to this preconcerted farce of ineffectual resistance to the tyranny of the chiefs, publicly burned it, for fear, as he stated, the natives should tear it to pieces, of which there was not the slightest intimation. For this act he very properly received the reprimand of his government. M. Dudoit then made a protest, stating that the Clementine had been forcibly seized by the Hawaiian government, and claiming damages to the amount of fifty thousand dollars. They had now secured the consummation so devoutly wished for, and so cunningly devised. With right and justice on their side, the chiefs had impolitically allowed themselves to be ensnared; not that any act of which they had been guilty was a violation of the rights of others, for it was but a lawful enforcement of the supremacy of their own; but knowing the duplicity of those they had to deal with, and their own weakness, it would have been better to have submitted for a while to their machinations, and appealed for justice to the good sense of their respective governments.

Three powers were now interested—the French, English, and American; for the property on board belonged to a citizen of the United States, who was anxious to secure an award sufficient to make a good sale of it. A great flourish was made by the consuls of the ready action of their governments, and the prompt vengeance which would ensue. A weekly paper,* which had been established the year before, was completely under their control, and from that period became an organ of virulent abuse of the government, missionaries, and their patrons, and strongly supported the measures of the priests.

* Sandwich Islands Gazette.

By its misstatements, numbers of benevolent individuals abroad were led to suppose that a furious persecution of the Romanists existed, and that the government set at defiance all international law. Hence their sympathies were unintentionally enlisted against a much-wronged people.

On the 7th of July, the English surveying sloop Sulphur, Captain Belcher, arrived. Influenced altogether by the English consul, the captain demanded the release of Mr. Short, and threatened, in case of refusal, to land him by force. Kinau urged him to investigate the matter; but he declared that he was obliged "to follow the statements of the consul." On the 10th, the French frigate Venus, commanded by Du Petit Thouars, anchored off the port. He united with Belcher in a demand for the instant liberation of the priests. This not being obtained, a body of marines from the Sulphur was sent to the Clementine; thence escorted by them, the priests proceeded to the shore, the commanders of the men-of-war attending them to their former residence. The English flag was then rehoisted on the Clementine, which, by the order of Captain Belcher, was despatched to Maui, for the king.

His majesty arrived on the 20th, and on the next day an audience took place. The two commanders refused to admit the interpretations of Mr. Bingham, who had been selected by the king for that purpose. Mr. Andrews, of the mission, was then chosen, with their approbation, and Mr. Bingham retired to the back part of the room. One of the foreign officers present crowded him back against the wall; upon stepping aside to avoid this, he received a violent blow from a movement of the elbow of the individual who so determinedly insulted him. One of the council separated them, and a file of armed men was ordered in by the king. Another officer drew his sword partly from its scabbard, and stepping up to Mr. Bingham, said, menacingly, "Do you see that?" According to the testimony of Mr. Short, Captain Belcher threatened to hang Bingham to the yard-arm of his vessel; though better authority relates that he merely said, that if any of his

men were injured in doing their duty, he would be the first man he should seize. These instances serve to show the virulence with which his enemies had been enabled to inspire acquaintance of but few days' standing. Mr. Bingham is a man of great force of character, enjoying the confidence of the chiefs, and devoted to the cause in which he had embarked. From his long residence at Honolulu, he had acquired a prominence in the affairs of the mission which had drawn upon his head, in particular, the obloquy, calumnies, and deepest hatred of the party. On him was showered their wit, sarcasm, insinuations, and falsities; his private and public character assailed, and all that detraction could effect, done to ruin him. He withstood the storm with a firmness, mingled with forbearance, that gained him the respect of the unprejudiced, while his warm affections and sincerity strongly attached him to those who knew him intimately. But it must be acknowledged, he possessed a tenacity of opinion, and a sectarian zeal, which at times separated him in some degree from his friends, and marred his usefulness. The language and conduct of the English consul was in accordance with his character, supported by the presence of commanders bound to his will. He bullied and stormed, and finally shook his fist in Kinau's face. After a weary discussion of eight hours, it was conceded that the priests should remain until an opportunity for their leaving offered; the respective commanders pledging themselves mutually for their countrymen, that they should conform to the laws while they remained.* By these documents, it is evident that they assented to the

* Honolulu, July 21, 1837.

The undersigned, captain of the ship, commander of the French frigate La Venus, promises in the name of Mr. Bachelot, that he will seize the first favourable opportunity which offers to quit these islands, to go either to Manilla, Lima, Valparaiso, or any civilised part of the world; and in case such a one is not presented, on the arrival of the first French man-of-war which visits these islands, he shall be received on board. In the meantime Mr. Bachelot shall not preach.

A. DU PETIT THOUARS,
Post-Captain, Commanding French Frigate La Venus.

Captain Belcher signed a similar one in behalf of Mr. Short.

demands of the government, that they had a right to keep from their border individuals of any nation dangerous to the state. It is a remarkable fact, that in every instance where the chiefs have been enabled to obtain a hearing, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, this right has been conceded.

On the 23d, the king consented to the following interpretation of the Russell treaty, which, although it justly modified, did not alter its general tenor :—

Honolulu, July 23, 1837.

By Kamehameha III. King of the Sandwich Islands:

We consent to the interpretation you desire, on the first article of the treaty made with Lord Edward Russell, in "conformity with the laws of nations."

And, in the event of finding it necessary to exert the power "of refusal to admit a subject of Great Britain," we will grant a fair trial, and give satisfactory reasons for our act, of which due notice shall be given to the consul of his majesty the King of Great Britain.

(Signed) KAMEHAMEHA.

Captain Du Petit Thouars negotiated the following articles in behalf of his government :—

Honolulu, Sandwich Isles, July 24, 1837.

There shall be perpetual peace and amity between the French and the inhabitants of the Sandwich Isles.

The French shall go and come freely in all the states which compose the government of the Sandwich Isles.

They shall be received and protected there, and shall enjoy the same advantages which the subjects of the most favoured nations enjoy.

Subjects of the King of the Sandwich Isles shall equally come into France, shall be received and protected there as the most favoured foreigners.

(Signed) KAMEHAMEHA III.
A. DU PETIT THOUARS,
Captain, Commander of the French Frigate La Venus.

They are remarkable for their brevity, and may be called a compendium of previous treaties. It is important fully to understand the nature of this, as it is asserted that it gave the unqualified right for Frenchmen to reside within the

kingdom; it is evident that they were to receive simply and wholly the same advantages as the most favoured nation. England then stood in that light, and the right of expelling obnoxious persons, for "satisfactory reasons," had been fully conceded. Thouars had acknowledged, by his bond for the departure of Bachelot, that individuals of his profession were of the character described by the government, and their full authority to proscribe the teachings of Romanism. All other Frenchmen enjoyed the fullest protection and hospitality, yet for an alleged violation of their privileges, the vengeance of France was afterwards poured upon the devoted chiefs. M. Dudoit was appointed as French agent on the part of France, in which capacity he has since acted as consul, with the approbation of his government. On the 24th July, both vessels sailed without exchanging the usual national courtesies.

The 24th of September, following, H. B. M. frigate Imogene, Captain Bruce, arrived. Previous to leaving Valparaiso, some priests had applied to him for a passage to Oahu; this he refused, and advised them not to attempt to force themselves into the country. It was known that they were on their way, and M. Dudoit endeavoured to induce Captain Bruce to interpose with the chiefs, to allow them to land, which he declined. Desirous of not further involving themselves with France, the government sought his advice in regard to the interpretation of the treaty of Thouars. He frankly told them its true meaning, and of which not a doubt can exist. No nation has a right to force its creed, its laws, or its language upon another. To be done at all it must be by conquest. The government of the Hawaiian islands had received, after a close scrutiny, the forms of a faith which it found well adapted to its circumstances. Wisely or not, it had been voluntarily chosen, and was now warmly cherished. At this epoch, when through its instrumentality, the nation was rapidly advancing to a respectable footing, its aggregate wealth, morals, and civilization increasing, it desired simply "to be left alone." *

* N. A. Review, October, 1840.

But France, deceived by the falsehoods of its internal foes, leagued with a party which honest minds recoiled from in disgust; and her artillery was destined to effect, what combined jesuitism, treachery, and disloyalty had been unable to accomplish.

Mr. Short sailed for Valparaiso October 30th. Three days afterward the ship Europa arrived, with M. Maigret, provicar of the Roman Catholic bishop of Nilopolis, who was the head of the newly-formed see of Oceanica. A Mr. Murphy, an alleged layman, was with him. The history of this individual is somewhat remarkable. Under plain manners, and an unassuming exterior, he concealed great keenness, untiring activity, and deep-laid plans. It was rumoured that he was a personage deeply interested in the French mission, but so adroitly did he manage his part as greatly to lull suspicion of his real character; and although as dangerous an emissary as could be admitted within the country, no tangible objections could be made against him. The native authorities, having received information of the presence of Maigret, gave orders to the pilot not to bring the ship to anchor. Permission was finally granted to bring her into the harbour; the owner being bound over by the sum of ten thousand dollars not to permit the landing of the priest.* Various subterfuges were em-

* The owner, who was also the supercargo, had no just cause of complaint on this account, as he was well informed of the interdiction in regard to the priests, and his only object in bringing them was pecuniary gain. M. Maigret (Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, May, 1840,) says, Governor Kekuanaoa was surprised or entrapped *(surprit)* into granting permission to enter the port. It is amusing to see with what boldness the author of the supplement to the Sandwich Island Mirror denies all attempts at evasion of their designs, and claims for his party throughout perfect ingenuousness, while the priests themselves, in their published accounts, unhesitatingly declare the various pretexts made use of for purposes of deception. It is unfortunate for their cause, that so much discrepancy should have appeared between these witnesses in their behalf. Any one desirous of verifying this remark, need but to refer to the pamphlet in question, and the Annals above mentioned.

Maigret says, after Kekuanaoa had been "deceived" by others in relation to his profession, he asked him personally whether he was a priest; "I answered," he writes, "at once, and with a frankness which *displeased* some persons, but I could not betray my conscience to *please* them."

ployed to procure the desired object; the old story was repeated, that he was to remain only transitorily, and had come to secure passage to the Marquesas group. This plea was the more inconsistent as it was well known that he had just left Tahiti, where intercourse with those islands was common, while from Oahu it was of rare occurrence. M. Dudoit, who was active in his endeavours to secure his landing, would give no pecuniary security for his departure, or settle upon any definite period beyond which his stay should not be protracted. It was evident that it was only an attempt at the renewal of the scenes of the previous year, and the chiefs determined to nip the conspiracy in the bud. Captains Thouars and Vaillant had both assented to the justice of their exclusion; consequently the threats of M. Dudoit, in regard to a violation of the prerogatives of his countrymen, did not alter their intention. Finding it impossible to tamper longer with the government, Messrs. Bachelot and Maigret purchased a schooner, which they intended for the service of their stations in the South Pacific. The Captain of the Europa received permission to embark his passenger on board their vessel; two thousand dollars fine and imprisonment were to be the penalties, should Maigret attempt to escape on shore. On the 23d of November, the priests sailed. Bachelot, who was in feeble health, died on the 4th of December, and was buried at Ascension.

Walsh was the only priest left; his outward conformation to the laws was, probably, the motive by which he was allowed to remain.

Effectually to forbid the introduction of the faith from which so much trouble had ensued, a severe ordinance, covering all grounds upon which it had been attempted, was issued in December.* The will of the chiefs in this respect, was the more confirmed as the opposition increased. A number of their subjects were arrested and confined for their adherence to the doctrines of the priests. They manifested

* See Appendix IV.

a dogged obstinacy to the authorities, and a contumely which brought upon them unnecessary severities. They considered themselves of a separate party, and rigidly incorporated their religion with their politics, hoping for the final overthrow of the government. They were few, ignorant, and powerless; the menials of the governor frequently apprehended them when they were detected in the exercise of their rites, and carried them before him. Whenever these cases were known to the American missionaries, they were made the subject of earnest and successful remonstrance; by their intercession many were released, and the folly and wickedness of persecution for religious belief, so strongly represented to his majesty, that on the 17th of June, 1839, he issued orders that no more punishments should be inflicted; and that all who were then in confinement should be released. This was done at Lahaina. Previous to its promulgation at Oahu, sixty natives were driven from Wailai to Honolulu. Most of these were immediately released, and returned to their homes. Some, however, were confined in the fort. On the 24th of June, two women were found there, ironed, and suffering much from the painful posture in which they had been placed. The governor was absent; but, so states the author of the Supplement to the Sandwich Islands Mirror, the foreign "gentlemen succeeded in liberating the prisoners." It seems no inquiries were made of the proper authorities as to the nature of their offences, but they took upon themselves to set aside the municipal law; an interference which elsewhere would have provoked a merited chastisement. Inhumanity to the innocent or guilty, can never be justified. But benevolence which is altogether one-sided, cannot be called praiseworthy; the principal of these meddlers had often been instrumental in confining seamen and natives, under circumstances of equal hardship, against whom they professed to have cause of complaint. Here there was an opportunity of proclaiming their charity, at the expense of their neighbours, and loud and far was the trumpet sounded. Blind to the

more judicious interposition of the American missionaries, they boldly charged upon them the authorship of a species of prison discipline, on which they had looked calmly, and had actively used, when for their own advantage, for twenty years. As unblushingly they boasted of their unwarrantable efforts in effecting the release of the women. One gentleman, who had been witness to their confinement, had, previous to this, hurried to the governor to intercede on their account. On his way he met Mr. Bingham, to whom he related the facts, and begged him to see for himself. Mr. Bingham having heard of the edict of the king, informed him that it was possible they were punished for some criminal act; religious toleration having been proclaimed the week before. To satisfy himself, he waited upon the governor immediately, and informed him of the circumstances. The governor promptly ordered their release; "for their confinement was not by the order of the chiefs." Their lawful freedom was obtained through the exertions of the much-abused Bingham.*

In the meanwhile, the gentlemen who had been so active at the fort, proceeded, taking the women with them, to the house of the governor. On their way, they met him; surprised at such a cortege, he remanded the prisoners to the fort, and to the dictatorial tone with which he was addressed, sternly replied; "Your business is to take care of your stores; there is the road to them: mine is the government of the island and the fort; and this is my path." Upon receiving this well-merited rebuke, they dispersed. The author of the "Supplement" somewhat ludicrously glosses over this part of the transaction by observing, "the governor was *disposed to be insolent.*"

Mr. Murphy, after remaining some time at Honolulu, departed. What agency he had, in connexion with the acting French consul, in bringing about the events which soon after transpired, it is impossible to ascertain; but from

* For the native account of this and other transactions connected with these persecutions, see letter of his Hawaiian Majesty in Appendix V.

the important positions which he has since filled in connexion with French missions, it may be inferred that it was not small.

Whatever influence the agents of Romanism possess in the councils of France, whether in the consciences of the royal family, through the medium of their ghostly advisers, or more openly by their own political importance, it is certain that, of late years, the French Roman Catholic missions have received efficient support from government: in the Pacific, political aggrandisement and religious proselytism have been intimately connected. Agents and priests, disguising their relations, were active in spying out "the nakedness" of the islands. Mission succeeded mission, following rapidly in the path of the Protestants, and everywhere the consequences were disastrous to the natives. New Zealand, Tahiti, and finally the Hawaiian islands, were made to bear the brunt of these modern crusades. As soon as their plans were settled, the consequences were revealed. The priests appeared openly, under the patronage of their nation. Ships of war carried them from one post to another; the military paid deference to the spiritual; the political consequence of their bishops was enforced by arms, and warlike salutes announced their rank. This Murphy, in 1841, appears again at Tahiti. He is there a priest; in a quarrel with the French consul, he told him that his appointment to that office was owing to him; and his removal should be likewise. The chiefs of that island were inveigled into signing a paper, requesting the protection of a French force. Murphy then went to Valparaiso, to bring a fleet back with him, as he asserted, to revenge the violated rights of his countrymen, who had hoisted their national flag on a site given them for a church. The natives, jealous of this display of power, having hauled it down.

A powerful French squadron, with numerous transports, under the command of Admiral Du Petit Thouars, the same who fined the Tahitian government of two thousand dollars a few years before, arrived in that port in the spring of 1842.

A land force, munitions of war, and *priests* were on board. Secrecy attended their movements; but in a few months the Marquesas islands, without a shadow of claim, were taken formal possession of, and fortified. The chief agents in effecting this, were priests settled among the natives, and who were the first to board the Admiral, and to bring about the pretended negotiations. Where the next blow is to be struck it is impossible to foretell; but these facts are sufficient to show, that the native governments have occasion to be suspicious of Roman priestcraft.

The French sixty-gun frigate Artemise, C. Laplace, commander, arrived off Honolulu, July 10th, 1839. M. Dudoit immediately boarded her; and the purpose of his visit was speedily made known to the Hawaiian government, by the following Manifesto, addressed to the king of the Sandwich Islands by Captain Laplace, commanding the French frigate Artemise, in the name of his government:—

"His majesty the king of the French, having commanded me to come to Honolulu in order to put an end, either by force or persuasion, to the ill treatment to which the French have been victims at the Sandwich Islands, I hasten, first, to employ this last means, as the most conformable to the political, noble, and liberal system pursued by France against the powerless; hoping thereby that I shall make the principal chiefs of these islands understand how fatal the conduct which they pursue toward her will be to their interests, and, perhaps, cause disasters to them and to their country, should they be obstinate in their perseverance. Misled by perfidious counsellors; deceived by the excessive indulgence which the French government has extended toward them for several years, they are undoubtedly ignorant how potent it is, and that in the world there is not a power which is capable of preventing it from punishing its enemies; otherwise they would have endeavoured to merit its favour, or not to incur its displeasure, as they have done in ill treating the French; they would have faithfully put into execution the treaties, in place of violating them as soon as the fear disappeared, as well as the ships of war which had caused it, whereby bad intentions had been constrained. In fine, they will comprehend that to persecute the Catholic religion, to tarnish it with the name of idolatry, and to expel, under this absurd pretext, the French from this Archipelago, was to offer an insult to France and to its sovereign.

It is, without doubt, the formal intention of France that the king of the Sandwich Islands be powerful, independent of every foreign power, and that he consider her his ally; but she also demands that he conform to the usages of civilised nations. Now, among the latter, there is not even one which does not permit in its territory the free toleration of all religions; and yet, at the Sandwich Islands, the French are not allowed, publicly, the exercise of theirs, while Protestants enjoy therein the most extensive privileges; for these, all favours—for those, the most cruel persecutions. Such a state of affairs being contrary to the laws of nations, insulting to those of Catholics, can no longer continue, and I am sent to put an end to it. Consequently, I demand, in the name of my government,

1st. That the Catholic worship be declared free throughout all the dominions subject to the king of the Sandwich Islands; that the members of this religious faith shall enjoy in them all the privileges granted to Protestants.

2d. That a site for a Catholic church be given by the government at Honolulu, a port frequented by the French, and that this church be ministered by priests of their nation.

3d. That all Catholics imprisoned on account of religion, since the last persecutions extended to the French missionaries, be immediately set at liberty.

4th. That the king of the Sandwich Islands deposit in the hands of the captain of the Artemise the sum of twenty thousand dollars, as a guarantee of his future conduct towards France, which sum the government will restore to him when it shall consider that the accompanying treaty will be faithfully complied with.

5th. That the treaty signed by the king of the Sandwich Islands, as well as the sum above mentioned, be conveyed on board the frigate Artemise by one of the principal chiefs of the country; and also that the batteries of Honolulu do salute the French flag with twenty-one guns, which will be returned by the frigate.

These are the equitable conditions, at the price of which the king of the Sandwich Islands shall conserve friendship with France. I am induced to hope that, understanding better how necessary it is for the prosperity of his people, and the preservation of his power, he will remain in peace with the whole world, and hasten to subscribe to them, and thus imitate the laudable example which the Queen of Tahiti has given, in permitting the free toleration of the Catholic religion in her dominions; but if, contrary to my expectations, it should be otherwise, and the king and principal chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, led on by bad counsellors, refuse to sign the treaty which I present, war will immediately commence, and all the devastations, all the calamities which may be the unhappy but necessary results, will be

imputed to themselves alone; and they must also pay the losses which the aggrieved foreigners, in these circumstances, shall have a right to reclaim.

The 10th of July, (9th, according to date here,) 1839.

Captain of the French frigate Artemise,

(Signed) C. LAPLACE."

This singular document is a compound of error and falsehood, which can only be accounted for by the influence which dictated it. To declare that free toleration of all religions is permitted in the territories of all civilised nations, was palpably false, and contradicted by the testimony of his own ; also that Frenchmen had been persecuted under the plea of their religion. Mr. Short, an English subject, had been sent away with the consent of his government; two French priests, the departure of one of whom had been guaranteed by the highest official authority of their nation that had visited Oahu, had also been sent off. The few remaining Frenchmen who lived at those islands, of which there were not above four, and the three whale-ships which had for two years before alone represented their commerce, had been treated with all the respect and hospitality enjoyed by the most favoured nation. Its unjust tenor cannot fail of being apparent to every reader. The following letter, sent ashore at the same time, shows who were the individuals specially aimed at. Upon the ground of their known opposition to the Roman Catholic faith, against which they had openly written and preached, the attempt was made to identify them with the native government :—

" Monsieur le Consul,

Having been sent by my government to put an end to the ill treatment to which, under the false pretexts of Catholicity, the French have been subjected, for several years, in this Archipelago, my intention is to commence hostilities on the 13th of July, (which is the 12th of your date,) at 12 A.M., against the king of the Sandwich Islands, should he refuse to accede immediately to the just conditions of the treaty presented by me, the clauses of which I explain in the Manifesto of which I have the honour of sending you a copy. Should this chief, contrary to my expectation, persist in his blindness, or, to express myself more plainly, to follow the advice of inte-

rested counsellors, to deceive himself, I shall be constrained, in this case, to employ the strong means of force which I have at my disposition. I consider it my duty to inform you, Monsieur le Consul, that I offer asylum and protection, on board the frigate Artemise, to those of your compatriots who may apprehend danger, under these circumstances, on the part of the natives, either for their persons or property.

Receive, Monsieur le Consul, the assurance of the very distinguished considerations of your devoted serv't,

Post Captain, commanding the ship Artemise,

C. LAPLACE."

A similar communication was also addressed to the American consul, with this addition :—

"I do not, however, include in this class the individuals who, although born, it is said, in the United States, make a part of the Protestant clergy of the chief of this Archipelago, direct his councils, influence his conduct, and are the true authors of the insults given by him to France. For me, they compose a part of the native population, and must undergo the unhappy consequences of a war which they shall have brought on this country."

In verbal communication with the American consul, Laplace informed him that the American flag would prove no protection to the proscribed individuals. That if a man of his vessel should be injured, it was to be a war of extermination ; neither man, woman, or child, were to be spared. This was evidently the result of excitement, for it cannot be believed, that Frenchmen of 1839 were to imitate the murderous example of their famed chief, Godfrey of Bouillon, at the sack of Jerusalem, in the crusade of 1099. It may be well doubted if any of the threats so abundantly uttered, would have been carried out ; the party knew their men'; it was not difficult to alarm an American consul, to whom the duties of his office were novel, a few peaceful preachers of the gospel, and a government acquainted with the power of their formidable opponent.

The harbour was declared under blockade ; a vessel of the king's, in attempting to reach Maui, with despatches for his majesty, was captured, but suffered to proceed ; Haalilio, his

secretary, remaining on board the frigate as a hostage for his arrival. At the request of Kekauluohi, acting regent, the date of commencing hostilities was postponed until the 15th, that sufficient time might be allowed for the arrival of the king. The excitement among all classes was great; many feared the natives would take advantage of the first confusion, fire the town, and plunder the property of the residents. A number of the latter organised themselves into an armed force, to act in case of emergency. The native authorities took such active measures to insure tranquillity, that the town remained perfectly quiet; guards were stationed at exposed points, and the people required to abide the orders of government.

A disposition to a passive resistance to the demands of Laplace was at first manifested. It was proposed to abandon the town to the landing force, and strike the flag at the firing of the first gun from the frigate. Had Kinau been alive, it was thought more energetic counsels would have prevailed; Kekauluohi, her sister and successor, was inferior to her in decision and intellectual capacity. The most exaggerated stories were afloat among the native population. It was said the French were to carry fire and sword through the island; their guns were able to reach the distance of ten miles, and, to add to their horror, were loaded with the limbs of natives. The lowest class of whites, who had long writhed under the municipal regulations for the preservation of decency, rejoiced at the prospect of the approaching storm. The expected warfare was to be to them a jubilee of license and revenge. But the thinking part of the community freely expressed their opinion of the conduct of France toward her ill-matched opponent; their sympathies were warmly enlisted with the native rulers; and while they would have regretted the wanton destruction of lives or property, would have rejoiced in any scheme by which the ill-disguised threats and triumph of the white allies of the Boki faction could have been de-

feated. In the fierceness of the zeal of these enemies of the nation, the most unwarrantable expressions were used; those whose professions had been the loudest for simply religious toleration—whose clamour had been, if their own accounts are to be credited, solely for the diffusion of equal rights, to infuse humanity into the acts of government—now lusted for revenge. The English consul was away during the first excitement; upon his arrival, he intrigued to defeat the designs of a party that had now become so formidable as to form a separate French interest, headed by M. Dudoit. French or American ascendancy was equally obnoxious to him; a moral ascendancy more than either. An American who had stood deep in his confidence, publicly declared his willingness to die, if he could but have the pleasure of seeing a round dozen of stripes bestowed upon the naked back of Mr. Bingham. This was the expression of folly, but it was a folly which many of his disposition would have liked to have seen carried out as far as it related to the missionary. The missionaries were unduly alarmed. Hated and mocked at by some of their own countrymen, implicated in alleged criminality with the government, no explanation allowed from either, threats of pillage and bloodshed hourly borne to their trembling families, it argues no deficiency of courage, knowing from past experience the depth of the hostility that environed them, if they did fear the consequences for their wives and children. The friendly foreigners, engrossed by the shortness of the time for providing for their own safety, could only sympathise with them. Yet to the honour of that mission band, it should be recorded, they made no attempts to shift any responsibility which their influence with the government could legally have brought upon them. They courted the strictest scrutiny; neither were the obnoxious among them to be the selected victims. Equally pledged in the same holy cause, a common fate was to have been theirs. And those who best knew them doubted not that if the fierceness of fanatically enraged seamen, whom

M. Dudoit represented as with difficulty being restrained from firing upon the town, when the ships first hove in sight, had been let loose among them, they would have met their fate as calmly and as dignified as the senators of Rome at its sack by the Gauls of Brennus. The fidelity of the native government to them, and the generous devotions of their converts, places the relationship of all parties in the highest light. It was decided to obtain peace on the terms demanded. His Hawaiian majesty not having arrived within the stipulated time, Governor Kekuanaoa, and the premier, Kekauluohi, in his behalf, signed the treaty, which, with the twenty thousand dollars, was carried on board the Artemise, by the former. This money was raised with great difficulty; the government debts were yet unpaid, and much of this sum was borrowed at a high interest from foreign merchants. The tri-coloured flag received the royal salute, which was promptly returned. The king arrived on the 14th, the same day, being Sunday. Captain Laplace, escorted by two hundred seamen, with fixed bayonets and a band of music, went on shore for the purpose of celebrating a military mass. To render this renewal of Romish rites more poignant, a straw palace of the king's was selected for the ceremony, which was performed by the Rev. Mr. Walsh.

The original design of Rives was now established as far as the formal introduction of proselytism of Roman Catholicism was concerned. Its final success is a matter of doubt. This low intriguer wished it as an instrument for obtaining French supremacy. His first act, as has been shown, was the attempt to drive away all Americans; this, as well as all his other plans, failed. Charlton renewed the attempt, disguised by different motives. His object likewise fell through; and he had the double mortification to witness the recoil of his labours upon himself. An additional rival had entered the field, and he was farther from his objects than ever.

Another purpose was to be gained, which the guns of

France alone could accomplish. In 1838, the king, yielding to the advice of his council, prohibited the introduction of all ardent spirits into his kingdom, and laid a heavy duty on wines. These measures were popular, and had been strongly advised by many foreigners; the harbours became quiet resorts for shipping, instead of ports of noisy carousal. But the profits of the dealers were not to be quietly abandoned; the Sandwich Islands Gazette had openly recommended resistance to the collection of the duties. Those foreigners who desired ardent spirits for family use, had found no difficulty in obtaining such for their tables, though at an increased expense. They were confined to those whose standing in society would be sufficient to prevent its abuse. Still, that the government should legislate at all upon this point, was rankling. It was known that the Artemise would soon arrive, and a plan was concocted by which the prohibition and duties should be removed, and for ever prevented from renewal. M. Dudoit boasted of his intention to have liquor free. Captain Belcher, who had returned in the Sulphur, and sailed shortly before the arrival of the Artemise, witnessing the good results of the laws in question, wrote to the king, recommending a system of duties on liquors so high as virtually to amount to prohibition. But Laplace was a pliant instrument in the hands of these men. Inimical to the nation, a stranger to its history, it was not to be supposed that he should be particularly anxious for the habits and health of Hawaiians, when in competition with the tastes and pecuniary interests of a countryman. So it proved. A treaty was drawn up, and offered to the king for his signature.* Articles 4th and 6th received his objections; the first, because it was supposed to put too much authority into the hands of the consul, who would have it in his power to shield his countrymen to a considerable extent from the action of the civil law. The other, that it virtually repealed all their legislation for the promotion of temperance and shield-

* See Appendix VI.

ing his subjects from a prolific source of evil and disease. It also took away from him the power of receiving a revenue from imports, worth the collection.

As no time was fixed for the termination of the treaty, it could be made always binding upon his government, however injurious in its operation. This was brought to him at five o'clock, P. M. on the 16th, and he was required to sign it by breakfast the next morning. No amendment of the objectionable features was allowed; it must be signed as received, or not at all. The king desired time to consult with his council; this was refused. Neither the consul or Laplace dared openly to commit themselves, by saying to him that if he refused war would ensue; but it was bandied about among his attendants, so as to reach his ears, that in such an event there would be no end to the trouble; that this frigate would be succeeded by a larger force, and ultimately his island would be taken possession of. It was a successful design to entrap the king through his fears; the treaty received his reluctant signature. The friendship of France was now secured, and everything was to go on swimmingly. But the unfortunate monarch felt ill at ease. In an interview with Laplace he repeated his objections, and pleaded his innocence of the charges for which his kingdom had suffered. But it was to no purpose. Fortified by prejudice and abused power, might have then been seen the representative of enlightened and chivalrous France, arguing for inundating a nation, against its will, with the poisonous products of its own; and, to the just and forcible arguments of a semi-civilised monarch, pleading in broken English his own and his country's wrongs, replying with the threadbare calumnies of twenty years' growth; to the picture of the evils which his acts would produce, in so youthful a stage of civilisation, coolly answering, "Civilisation eat up the savage:" an event which his own deeds were fully calculated to consummate. After the treaty, the external courtesies of national intercourse were exchanged, but with a contempt on one side, and a feeling of

injury received on the other, that but ill concealed the real sentiments. On the 20th of July the Artemise sailed.

The French consul was not slow to avail himself of the extorted privileges. A vessel belonging to him, the same Clementine which had already acquired an unenviable notoriety in the annals of Hawaii, returned from Valparaiso in the following May, with a cargo of liquors. The bishop of Nilopolis, M. Maigret, and two other priests, came passengers in her. The coincidence of ardent spirits with the cause of papacy had been striking throughout; while Boki favoured the priests, intemperance prevailed: the commander that had ensured them an entrance into the long-coveted ground, provided for the accompaniment of liquors. Walsh encouraged their use, both by example and precept. And now a vessel arrived, well provided with both. No wonder that the terms for brandy and Frenchmen, meaning Papists, became synonymous through the nation; to this day *palani* is the common term of both. So deep, also, has the sense of the wrong sunk into the hearts of the nation, that children, when quarrelling, use it toward each other as a term of reproach.

Previous to the arrival of the bishop and the priests, a disposition to renew, as far as they dared, the practices of Boki's misrule, prevailed. Old songs and sports were indulged in by the party who had long favoured them in secret, and forms of vice and error prevailed, which it would be unjust to suppose would have received the countenance of their present spiritual guides. But such facts serve emphatically to show the difference of opinion and desires among the native population, between those who favoured the cause of Popery, and the advocates of Protestantism. With the former, the disorganisers of society, the rude and reckless, embodied themselves, bringing with them the remains of their idolatry, and creating discredit to their cause; around the others, the rulers, scholars, and people generally, desirous of enforcing moral restraint and the supremacy of law. Kinau died April 4th, 1839; Kaikoewa, April 10th of the same

year; both were chiefs of well-known Christian principles, and firm supporters of the American mission. Their bodies, after lying in state for several weeks, were committed to the tomb amid all the pomp and circumstance of the nation, but with a quietness of grief, and an order, consonant with the faith which they had embraced. The funeral ceremonies of Liliha, who had lived deprived of office until her death, which occurred on the 25th of August, 1839, gathered the partisans of heathenism from all quarters. An attempt was made to revive obsolete rites; wailing was heard night and day; the shouts of a former generation were renewed; but the guards of the king prevented any disturbance of the public order. With her were buried the last hopes of the faction she had once so energetically headed.

Little, as yet, can be recorded of the labours of the Papists; they entered with great zeal upon their duties; a large stone cathedral was commenced, and for awhile the novelty of their worship attracted crowds. Those of their converts who had been subjected to rigorous treatment flocked joyfully to them; the blind zeal which had formerly made them covet martyrdom, and the brute obstinacy with which they clung to ideas of which they had no clear conception, changed in some cases to hatred and a desire of revenge. But they were too few to cause alarm. The war of sectarianism has since been vigorously prosecuted; Papist and Protestant missionaries have publicly discussed their creeds; pulpits and lecture-rooms have resounded with the arguments for and against; tracts and books have been widely distributed. The Papists have gained small congregations in several of the islands, mostly from among those who have paid no attention to Protestant worship. Over such, the priests, who appear to be men of learning and piety, can exert a salutary influence.*

* In addition to the legitimate weapons of spiritual warfare, the Papists have successfully employed bribes and largesses. Clothing, knives, and the varied etcetera that constitute worldly wealth to a Hawaiian, have been lavishly distributed; consequently many have become converted, if not to the dogmas of their faith, to the desire for *waiwai* (property). With the lowest orders, their gifts and the obsequious zeal manifested in waiting upon

The bishop returned to France, in 1841, to procure a reinforcement of labourers, and church ornaments; nuns also were to be introduced, and all the splendour and gaudy paraphernalia of their ritual to be eventually employed to win over the multitude. The voice of the nation is against them; a public sentiment, founded upon past occurrences, and a sincere belief of the errors of Romanism, is abroad. As yet not a chief of influence or importance has been attached to them; many of the common orders have been induced to join their ranks, and have again recanted. Curiosity impels numbers to attend for awhile; and sometimes it has happened that where the church discipline of the Protestants has proved too severe, the disappointed persons have been drawn, by the less rigid interpretations of the scriptures, to the Papists. Should a high chief be won over, many would follow; but from present appearances it is to be presumed that Roman Catholicism at these islands will eventually settle into a flourishing sect, bearing, however, no greater proportion in wealth and numbers, to the Protestants, than the respective adherents of those creeds do in the United States. Both are in the field; if left fairly to their own action, truth, honesty, and wisdom, will determine the results.

Collision sometimes happens between the priests and the government, particularly in regard to the school-laws, which now enjoin all parents to give their children the rudiments of learning. The teachers for district schools are selected by government, and must receive diplomas of their capacity for the situation. None of the Papists having acquired sufficient education for that purpose, a difficulty occurred when Protestants were appointed to schools in districts where the Papists were numerous. They refused to pay the taxes necessary for

the sick, providing food for the hungry, and other such acts, have spread abroad an idea of limitless charity and munificence on the part of the teachers of the Pope. Multitudes have in consequence manifested a sympathy with them, or have been temporarily attracted to conform to their rites and be baptized. Whether such converts prove stedfast, remains to be seen. So far, they have been very restless and mutable; but Jesuitism, by its secret springs, may find a method to mould them to its will.

their support, or to recognise the school system, which is analogous to that of the New England states. The government have endeavoured to do away this objection by finding Papists qualified; in time, it is presumed, many will be. Another source of difficulty has been the marriage contract, which by law is a civil institution; but by the formula of the Romish Church, a sacrament. Hence disputes in regard to the legality of marriages have arisen, and the priests have even presumed to separate couples, or remarry according to their views. All laws of general application, which do not harmonize with the dogmas of their Church, are opposed; the horrors of a broken treaty, and French vengeance, are still employed to gain their ends. This is the more unjustifiable, because, by the constitution of their native land, the civil laws are nominally separated from spiritual concerns; here they endeavour to incorporate them, and in such a manner as shall involve the government in fresh difficulties. As the French have already seized the Marquesas, and are attempting a foothold at the Society islands, it may be their policy to stimulate to some overt act, which shall lead to further aggression. The faithful manner in which the treaty has thus far been fulfilled, allows them as yet no just ground of complaint. Notwithstanding this, attempts within the year 1842 to disturb the peace of the islands, and bring about a collision with France, have been renewed. The evils resulting from the introduction of ardent spirits were found so alarming, that the government passed a law restraining, by a system of licenses, the unlimited internal traffic, which was inundating every portion of the group with the poison. The French consul construed this into a violation of the treaty, on the ground that any restriction in its sale implied an equal one on importation. The perseverance with which this man attempts to make a nation of sots of the Hawaiians, is disgraceful to the power he so unworthily represents. Deriving an influence from his situation, which neither his acquirements or reputation could of themselves bestow, he is enabled to infuse his

opinions, without fear of contradiction, into the minds of his countrymen, strangers both by language and preconceived prejudices to the Hawaiians and foreign residents. Consequently, they are at the mercy of every commander of a French national ship that enters their waters. In August 1842, the corvette Embuscade arrived at Honolulu; the captain, M. Mallet, immediately addressed a long list of complaints to the government, coupled with proportionate demands. These were of so arbitrary and unjustifiable character as to merit attention, particularly from their analogy to the usurpations of Laplace. From the interpolation of Hawaiian technical terms into the letter of the commander to the king, it was evidently written at the dictation of the French missionaries, as it implies a knowledge of the language possessed by neither the consul or captain.

Not content with being placed upon the same footing as the Protestants, the Jesuits having established themselves by fraud and violence, now by similar means are attempting to secure to themselves privileges not guaranteed by treaty or the constitution; in other words, to monopolize the powers of government, and compel the nation not only to receive them, but to support their institutions. If the experience of history is of any value, it is vain to expect aught from their treacherous, intriguing order, but an unwearied and unprincipled pursuit of the objects they have in view. They have ever been as remorseless and persevering in the attainment of power, as the blood-hound in track of his prey. The virtues of individuals are not allowed to interfere with the interests of the body. Conscience among their own members, equally with the rights of others, is to be crushed, when expedient to advance their own temporal rule, speciously disguised as it is under apparent poverty and spiritual humility. The nineteenth century witnesses the inconsistent spectacle of France allowing the erection of a Moslem mosque within her capital, while her fleets, by the terrors of their artillery, force a bigoted Roman Catholic priesthood upon the defenceless and

unwilling nations of the Pacific. If this criminal interference is not checked by governments who, equally with her, hold the balance of the power, where will be its resting-place? The same priests that can direct her guns against the semi-barbarous but Protestant tribes of Polynesia, flushed by success, may advance their spiritual conquests against races less potent only in the arts of warfare than their own, and this enlightened era behold Romanism, at the point of the bayonet, trampling once more in her pride upon the necks of kings. Protestantism seeks not triumphs like these; the spirit of liberty, the love of truth and justice to which she gave birth, striving within the bosom of indignant man, of all sects, and regardless of boundary lines, or differences of tongue, will meet on one common ground, and unite in one universal cry, "Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther!" Proud hierarchy! the days in which thou couldst wreak thy vengeance upon cowering kingdoms, and place man beneath a despotism more withering to inborn freedom than the condition of the veriest menial, are numbered. A mightier than thou has arisen on the earth—enlightened public sentiment; before which wrong and oppression must shrink back into the corrupt haunts that gave them birth.

Before the arrival of the Embuscade, the Papists had been gaining strength by their former policy. Political disorganizers and disaffected individuals, of which every community has its share, were gladly received into their ranks, and their complaints made a pretext for further demands to secure the maintenance of the French "national dignity." These individuals, sustained by their spiritual allies, delighted in clashing with the government, and gave it on all occasions much trouble. They are like a canker in the heart of the kingdom; the more corrosive from their disloyalty to their legitimate sovereign, and firm dependence upon foreign aid. It is their boast, that France will protect them in their lawlessness; and when the Embuscade hove in sight, the cry arose, "*Ko makou haku e*,"—THERE IS OUR MASTER. The corvette

anchored on the 22nd of August. On the 1st of September the demands were forwarded to the king, premised with a falsehood, stating that the ministers of the Catholic religion had been insulted and subjected to divers unjust measures, their churches thrown down, and their neophytes inhumanely treated. For these fictitious grievances it was demanded—

1st. That a Catholic high-school, with the same privileges as the seminary at Lahainaluna, be immediately acknowledged, and a lot of land *given* for that purpose by government.

2nd and 3rd. That their schools be under the exclusive supervision of teachers of their order, and the priests be empowered to fill all temporary vacancies.

4th. That the marriage-law should be so amended, as to give the priests the control of that institution among their converts.

5th. That hereafter none of their faith be compelled to labour upon schools and churches of a different creed.

6th. That severe punishment be inflicted upon every individual, whatever may be his rank, who shall destroy a Catholic church or school, or insult its ministers.

Furthermore, it was demanded that the land alleged to have been given by Boki to the French mission, be fully confirmed to them; and that a purchase of additional land, (of whom or how is not stated,) made by his lordship, the bishop of Nilopolis, be confirmed to him and his heirs for ever.

This last was the most absurd of all. A French priest, an avowed enemy to the government, was to be allowed to own landed estates, on conditions which had never been granted to any foreigner whatever, whether merchant or missionary. This was the more piratical, from being done in face of a proclamation of the preceding year, in which the established principle of the government in relation to the soil was explicitly declared, and all foreigners invited to secure leases upon terms, which, while they allowed of transfer, provided for their eventual return to the legitimate owners, or a renewal of deeds.

The letter concludes with a reference to the laws licensing the sale of ardent spirits, which the commander conceives to be against the spirit of the Laplace treaty. It also implies that upon the nature of the answer will depend the character of the report M. Mallet will make to his Admiral, who will decide upon a course, which, from *his* representations, will appear expedient. What that expediency may result in, the Marquesas group can testify.

The answer of his majesty is manly and dignified. He professes it to be the determination of his government, rigidly to adhere to the treaties with all nations. Toleration had been allowed in its fullest sense, and no one could prove the contrary. But no legal power could effectually restrain the jars of opinions, and the petty disputes which necessarily arise between rival religions. His laws were intended to encourage literature, and as soon as the French priests were ready to establish a seminary for the purpose of imparting it to their pupils, and teachers were capacitated, a location should be provided.

The school-laws were framed to promote education, and not sectarianism, and it was not fit that they should be altered to favour any sect. Any man of a good moral character and qualified for teaching, without regard to his religious opinions, was entitled to a diploma. No priest, whether Protestant or Papist, could give a diploma. Marriage was likewise a civil institution, and no minister could perform the ceremony without a certificate from the proper authorities. The law grew out of circumstances peculiar to his people, and it was proper for the government to legislate for its own subjects.

The laws require those who do not commute their taxes by money, to labour on certain days for their landlords, and for governmental purposes. The nature of the work is regulated by the interest or desires of those to whom it is due. The present code, being so recent, had not become fully established in all portions of the islands. Consequently the former traditionary customs somewhat prevailed; and if

a house had been pulled down, it had been lawfully done, according to an ancient custom, by the owner of the land, against whose consent it had been erected. If the builder had complained to the judges, a trial would have been granted; if that had proved unsatisfactory, the case could have been carried before the supreme court, which sits twice annually.

The ground occupied by the French mission in Honolulu, is held by the same tenure as that of the Protestant, and foreigners generally. Negotiations had been commenced which it was hoped would give satisfaction to all.

Wines and brandies were freely admitted into the kingdom, and any one could procure a license to retail, by application to the municipal authorities. In conclusion, he informed him that ministers had been sent to France, to beg of Louis-Philippe a new treaty.

That this answer gave but little satisfaction to the priestly prejudiced commander, may be inferred from the fact, that he sailed without exchanging the customary salutes with the fortress. It is yet to be seen whether the Admiral will await despatches from his government before acts of violence are again committed. The twenty thousand dollars taken away by Laplace, still remain with the nation that so valiantly obtained the prize, and set the example of valuing the good faith of a treaty by the amount of money it could extort.

It is evident that the French look with envious eyes upon the Hawaiian group; their public papers teem with laudatory notices of the value of the Marquesas group, which they have recently seized. They are well aware of the greater importance of the Hawaiian archipelago: neither pretexts nor intrigues to enable them to obtain a foothold there, will be discontinued, except England and the United States promptly and decidedly manifest their disapprobation of the specious political knavery which so emphatically characterizes the movements and designs of the French in this lustrum, in the Pacific.

The revolution in the governmental policy of Kamehameha I. merits attention. It was one of those relinquishments of despotic power by the few, for the good of the many, which though occurring amid a petty nation, whose existence in the great scale of empire is scarcely recognized, is well deserving the attention of the statesman and philanthropist; to the former it might prove a lesson of wisdom; to the latter a gratifying spectacle of the peaceful triumphs of justice. The *Magna Charta* of Hawaiian rights was not, like its great English prototype, the result of the demands of victorious subjects, or like the Reform Bill of modern times, a necessary concession of an oligarchy, who strove not how much they should give, but how much could be safely retained. Not a tittle of the fair scroll was dyed in blood, nor did a threat or blow urge its execution. It was an optional change from hereditary absolutism and grinding tyranny, to written laws and constitutional freedom. The Hawaiian government presents at this moment an almost anomalous incident in the history of man. For the welfare of its subjects it peaceably yielded its own powers, and sacrificed rights which the custom of centuries had made part and parcel of its bone and muscle, and given to them the force of the irrevocable decrees of the Medes and Persians. It was an event well calculated to add lustre to the annals of the proudest land, and betokened a high spirit of disinterested patriotism. Power is as sweet to the savage prince as to the Christian autocrat or Moslem sultan; and the voluntary abandoning of no other law than a selfish and arbitrary will, for a code which clearly defines the limits of the former, and concedes the lawful rights of the subject, is an act which justly entitles a sovereign to the gratitude of his nation. Kamehameha III. in so doing, has shown himself a worthy scion of the stock from which he sprung; embodying in his crown the spirit of progress which characterizes his nation, he has kept in advance of his people, and as boldly led their ranks in the pursuit of political wisdom, as ever his father, in the forlorn hope of a

doubtful strife. To the latter belongs the credit of uniting the islands under one head, a victorious monarch; but to the former is due the more genuine glory of conferring upon them the blessings of enlightened counsels, which, if allowed fair scope, will ultimately produce happiness at home, and respectability abroad.

Clearly to understand the advantages of this change, it will be necessary to examine into the causes which led to the result. Briefly stated, it may be said to have been brought about by the gradual advance in wealth and knowledge of the people. But it was still more the effect of the workings of a deeper current, which it is worth the while to attempt to trace to its source. The people, though occasionally restless, wore their chains as those long accustomed to a weight, which, though it oppressed, they walked unsteadily without. Foreign influence and example spoke life and liberty to them daily, and occasionally a voice among themselves dared to proclaim against the loathsome system which debased mind and body; but bribery or force stifled the cry before it pierced the length and depth of the islands. The mass of the people were bound to the habits of their ancestors, and it was easy on the part of the government to have preserved their despotism, as far as their own subjects were concerned, till another generation should have arisen that knew not the prophets of the old. The flame of liberty which burnt brightly in the breasts of a few, found no answering light in the bosoms of the many. Centuries of slavery and degradation had had their full work upon them, and they were dead to knowledge. Fierce demagogues could have stirred up revolt. Blood might have been shed, but the people, without any more just ideas of their own rights, would have been obliged to succumb to the too powerful government, which, jealous of its power, and made cruel by rebellion, would have proved an incubus, which foreign efforts alone could have shaken off. But peaceful influences were destined to effect this moral revolution. While the influence of

foreigners in enlightening the minds of the mass was undoubtedly great, it was tenfold more powerful upon the chiefs, who, both by education and station, were necessarily among the most intelligent of the nation. In their continued and increasing intercourse with strangers, it became necessary to employ the best talents among their own nation, and thus they had, almost unconsciously, brought into their councils minds in advance of their own, and a spirit which, though disguised, was still that of freedom. Self-interest also opened the eyes of the chiefs to the fact, that the old system must give way to a new, else their power would be but nominal and their wealth nothing.

Predial servitude was discovered to be adapted only to the system from which it sprung. The effort to continue it would generate discontent and deception among the people, while to the chiefs, as their great mine of wealth, sandal-wood had been exhausted, it was productive only of loss. Their intercourse with foreigners showed more plainly, day by day, their own dependence upon their people, and that wealth and power flowed only from industry and knowledge.

The principles of freedom, and the knowledge of history derived from the system of instruction pursued at the high-school of the American mission at Maui, urged on a spirit of inquiry. Every scholar from that school went forth an unfledged patriot, but in book knowledge far in advance of his rulers. The wants of the rising generation were not to be bounded by the habits of the old, and whether against their wills or no, the chiefs were convinced that a change was necessary. This was a critical period. Had an ambitious and violent chief, availing himself of the spirit of the crowd, attempted to force his way to power upon the wreck of the legitimate dynasty, the consequences would have been serious. The desire for change, revenge, and all the host of heathen passions would have been awakened, and the country thrown back years in improvement and civilisation. But the whole mental and moral influence of the American Protestant mis-

sion, itself a most democratic body of a most democratic nation, combined with the advice and example of the most intelligent and influential foreign residents and strangers, operated to effect a peaceful change, and to direct its movements. Without doubt, self-interest had its full sway over the minds of the chiefs, but, at the same time, much is to be attributed to a sincere desire, on their part, for the introduction of the blessings of civilised life among their subjects.

The fact having become fully established in the minds of the chiefs, that their old system was inadequate to the wants of this age, and if no antidote was found, their power would succumb to the wealth and knowledge of the foreign population, it was determined without delay to seek a remedy. It was apparent that their security would be best guaranteed by adopting that which would else have proved the very causes of their downfall—instruction and knowledge. Accordingly, their first object was to secure the services of some able individual. In 1835 they wrote to the United States, and endeavoured to obtain a capable person for the situation of Counsellor and Teacher of Political Economy. Failing in this, they secured the services of the most eligible person among themselves. The interests of any foreigner residing with them for the purposes of gain, would have been too much involved in the results to have made such an agent a safe or prudent teacher. Mr. Richards, at their desire, relinquished his situation as a missionary, dependent upon the American board, and undertook the office. He also officiated as chaplain. His correct knowledge of the language, habits, and condition of the people, and the entire confidence which the chiefs placed in his zeal and intentions, rendered him peculiarly adapted to the situation, as far as regarded the domestic polity of the nation. His theological pursuits and the isolated position he had occupied for sixteen years, disqualified him in some measure for the discharge of its external relations; but if his influence can be judged from the progress which, since 1839, the Hawaiians have made toward a

settled form of government, and a polity which annually has met the wants of the foreign population, while it carefully conserved their own rights of jurisdiction, it must be confessed he deserves credit. His situation involved unpleasant responsibilities. The new legislation was to be so defined and arranged as to provide for the wants of a people slowly emerging from barbarism, while it should not clash with the lawful interests of strangers who had been received within the kingdom. Most of these exerted their influence in carrying into effect its true spirit, and joyfully recognized the more enlightened principles. A few others sought to involve the government by attempts at entanglement in their foreign relations, before time or experience had improved the system.

Mr. Richards entered upon his duties by delivering a full course of lectures upon political economy, and the general science of government. These were listened to with much attention by the king, chiefs, and most intelligent of the high-school graduates; and the result was, the drawing up of a constitution and code, which, after many amendments and much debate, have been published, and constitute the law of the kingdom.

The stranger who, unacquainted with the early habits and customs of the nation, examines this code with the keenness of political wisdom, derived from centuries of experience in the civilised world, will find much to disapprove. Every allowance should be extended to these tyros in legislation, while much praise is due to them for the spirit with which they entered upon and executed the task. The English reader judges of it through the medium of a translation, which necessarily impairs the force of the original, while much that appears distorted and inconsistent to a foreign mind, from ignorance of the history and habits of the nation, will be easily comprehended by a Hawaiian. Another and important difficulty which they labour under, is the want of a technical language of sufficient exactness to define the true limits and meaning of each law. This must await the slow

progress of refinement and knowledge. Notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which it appears, it gives ample evidence of being a very respectable body of laws; perhaps as well adapted to the present wants of the nation as any other that could be devised. Innovation has not been carried to so great a length as to overturn, without re-constructing. Enough of the spirit of the old system is left to appease their prejudices, and meet their present advancement, while a wide door for improvement has been left open, and tools placed in the hands of the people, with directions how to use them. Upon the practices of despotism has been engrafted the political axioms of freedom. If the fruit is not as fair as the graft, it will be the fault of the soil, and not of the cultivators.

As the constitution is its best expositor, and contains many explanations of the principles of Hawaiian polity, I have deemed it worthy of insertion. It was passed by the unanimous voice of the king and chiefs; Kuakini at first demurred at the limitation of the power of the governors, but finally gave his consent.

(Translated from the Hawaiian.)

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, BOTH OF THE PEOPLE AND CHIEFS.

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the earth," in unity and blessedness. God has also bestowed certain rights alike on all men and all chiefs, and all people of all lands.

These are some of the rights which He has given alike to every man and every chief of correct deportment; life, limb, liberty, freedom from oppression, the earnings of his hands and the productions of his mind, not however to those who act in violation of the laws.

God has also established governments, and rule, for the purpose of peace; but in making laws for the nations it is by no means proper to enact laws for the protection of the rulers only, without also providing protection for their subjects; neither is it proper to enact laws to enrich the chiefs only, without regard to enriching their subjects also, and hereafter there shall by no means be any laws enacted which are at variance with what is above expressed, neither shall any tax be assessed, nor any service or labour required of any man, in a manner which is at variance with the above sentiments.

PROTECTION FOR THE PEOPLE DECLARED.

The above sentiments are hereby published for the purpose of protecting alike, both the people and the chiefs of all these islands, while they maintain a correct deportment, that no chief may be able to oppress any subject, but that chiefs and people may enjoy the same protection, under one and the same law.

Protection is hereby secured to the persons of all the people, together with their lands, their building lots, and all their property, while they conform to the laws of the kingdom, and nothing whatever shall be taken from any individual except by express provision of the laws. Whatever chief shall act perseveringly in violation of this constitution, shall no longer remain a chief of the Hawaiian islands, and the same shall be true of the governors, officers, and all land agents.

But if any one who is disposed should change his course, and regulate his conduct by law, it shall then be in the power of the chiefs to reinstate him in the place he occupied, previous to his being deposed.

CONSTITUTION.

It is our design to regulate our kingdom according to the above principles, and thus seek the greatest prosperity both of all the chiefs and all the people of these Hawaiian islands. But we are aware that we cannot ourselves alone accomplish such an object—God must be our aid, for it is His province alone to give perfect protection and prosperity. Wherefore we first present our supplication to HIM, that he will guide us to right measures, and sustain us in our work. It is therefore our fixed decree,

I. That no law shall be enacted which is at variance with the word of the Lord Jehovah, or at variance with the general spirit of His word. All laws of the islands shall be in consistency with the general spirit of God's law.

II. All men of every religion shall be protected in worshipping Jehovah, and serving Him, according to their own understanding, but no man shall ever be punished for neglect of God unless he injures his neighbour, or brings evil on the kingdom.

III. The law shall give redress to every man who is injured by another without a fault of his own, and shall protect all men while they conduct properly, and shall punish all men who commit crime against the kingdom, or against individuals, and no unequal law shall be passed, for the benefit of one to the injury of another.

IV. No man shall be punished unless his crime be first made manifest, neither shall he be punished unless he be first brought to trial in the presence of his accusers, and they have met face to face, and the trial having

been conducted according to law, and the crime made manifest in their presence, then punishment may be inflicted.

V. No man or chief shall be permitted to sit as judge or act on a jury to try his particular friend (or enemy,) or one who is especially connected with him. Wherefore if any man be condemned or acquitted, and it shall afterward be made to appear, that some one who tried him acted with partiality for the purpose of favouring his friend (or injuring his enemy,) or for the purpose of enriching himself, then there shall be a new trial allowed before those who are impartial.

EXPOSITION OF THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE PRESENT DYNASTY IS FOUNDED.

The origin of the present government, and system of polity is as follows. KAMEHAMEHA I. was the founder of the kingdom, and to him belonged all the land from one end of the islands to the other, though it was not his own private property. It belonged to the chiefs and people in common, of whom Kamehameha I. was the head, and had the management of the landed property. Wherefore, there was not formerly, and is not now, any person who could or can convey away the smallest portion of land without the consent of the one who had, or has the direction of the kingdom.

These are the persons who have had the direction of it from that time down, Kamehameha II. Kaahumanu I. and at the present time Kamehameha III. These persons have had the direction of the kingdom down to the present time, and all documents written by them, and no others, are the documents of the kingdom.

The kingdom is permanently confirmed to Kamehameha III. and his heirs, and his heir shall be the person whom he and the chiefs shall appoint, during his life time, but should there be no appointment, then the decision shall rest with the chiefs and House of Representatives.

PREROGATIVES OF THE KING.

The prerogatives of the King are as follows: He is the sovereign of all the people and all the chiefs. The kingdom is his, He shall have the direction of the army and all the implements of war of the kingdom. He also shall have the direction of the government property—the poll tax—the land tax—the three days' monthly labour, though in conformity to the laws. He also shall retain his own private lands, and lands forfeited for the non-payment of taxes shall revert to him.

He shall be the chief judge of the Supreme Court, and it shall be his duty to execute the laws of the land, also all decrees and treaties with other countries, all however in accordance with the laws.

It shall also be his prerogative to form treaties with the rulers of all other

kingdoms, also to receive ministers sent by other countries, and he shall have power to confirm agreements with them.

He shall also have power to make war in time of emergency, when the chiefs cannot be assembled, and he shall be the commander-in-chief. He shall also have power to transact all important business of the kingdom which is not by law assigned to others.

RESPECTING THE PREMIER OF THE KINGDOM.

It shall be the duty of the King to appoint some chief of rank and ability, to be his particular minister, whose title shall be *Premier of the Kingdom.* His office and business shall be the same as that of Kaahumanu I. and Kaahumanu II. For even in the time of Kamehameha I. life and death, condemnation and acquittal, were in the hands of Kaahumanu. When Kamehameha I. died, his will was, "The kingdom is Liholiho's, and Kaahumanu is his Minister." That important feature of the government, originated by Kamehameha I. shall be perpetuated in these Hawaiian islands, but shall always be in subserviency to the law.

The following are the duties of the Premier. All business connected with the special interests of the kingdom, which the King wishes to transact, shall be done by the Premier under authority of the King. All documents and business of the kingdom executed by the Premier, shall be considered as executed by the King's authority. All government property shall be reported to him (or her) and he (or she) shall make it over to the King.

The Premier shall be the King's special counsellor in the great business of the kingdom.

The King shall not act without the knowledge of the Premier, nor shall the Premier act without the knowledge of the King, and the veto of the King on the acts of the Premier shall arrest the business. All important business of the kingdom which the King chooses to transact in person, he may do it, but not without the approbation of the Premier.

GOVERNORS.

There shall be four governors over these Hawaiian islands—one for Hawaii—one for Maui and the islands adjacent—one for Oahu, and one for Kauai and the adjacent islands. All the governors, from Hawaii to Kauai, shall be subject to the King.

The prerogatives of the governors and their duties, shall be as follows: Each governor shall have the general direction of the several tax-gatherers of his island, and shall support them in the execution of all their orders which he considers to have been properly given, but shall pursue a course according to law, and not according to his own private views. He also shall preside over all the judges of his island, and shall see their sentences executed as

above. He shall also appoint the judges, and give them their certificates of office.

All the governors, from Hawaii to Kauai, shall be subject not only to the King, but also to the Premier.

The governor shall be the superior over his particular island or islands. He shall have charge of the munitions of war, under the direction of the King, however, and the Premier. He shall have charge of the forts, the soldiery, the arms and all the implements of war. He shall receive the government dues and shall deliver over the same to the Premier. All important decisions rest with him in times of emergency, unless the King or Premier be present. He shall have charge of all the King's business on the island, the taxation, new improvements to be extended, and plans for the increase of wealth, and all officers shall be subject to him. He shall also have power to decide all questions, and transact all island business, which is not by law assigned to others.

When either of the governors shall decease, then all the chiefs shall assemble at such place as the King shall appoint, and shall nominate a successor of the deceased governor, and whosoever they shall nominate and be approved by the King, he shall be the new governor.

RESPECTING THE SUBORDINATE CHIEFS.

At the present period, these are the persons who shall sit in the government councils, Kamehameha III., Kekauluohi, Hoapiliwahine, Kuakini, Kekauonohi, Kahekili, Paki, Konia, Kaohokalola, Lelehoku, Kekuanaoa, Kealiiahonui, Kanaina, Keoni Ii, Keoni Ana, and Haalilio. Should any other person be received into the council, it shall be made known by law. These persons shall have part in the councils of the kingdom. No law of the nation shall be passed without their assent. They shall act in the following manner: They shall assemble annually for the purpose of seeking the welfare of the nation, and establishing laws for the kingdom. Their meetings shall commence in April, at such day and place as the King shall appoint.

It shall also be proper for the King to consult with the above persons respecting all the great concerns of the kingdom, in order to promote unanimity and secure the greatest good. They shall moreover transact such other business as the King shall commit to them.

They shall still retain their own appropriate lands, whether districts or plantations, or whatever divisions they may be; and they may conduct the business on said lands at their discretion, but not at variance with the laws of the kingdom.

RESPECTING THE REPRESENTATIVE BODY.

There shall be annually chosen certain persons to sit in council with the chiefs, and establish laws for the nation. They shall be chosen by the people, according to their wish, from Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, and Kauai. The law shall decide the form of choosing them, and also the number to be chosen. This representative body shall have a voice in the business of the kingdom. No law shall be passed without the approbation of a majority of them.

RESPECTING THE MEETINGS OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

There shall be an annual meeting as stated above; but if the chiefs think it desirable to meet again they may do it at their discretion.

When they assemble, the chiefs shall meet by themselves, and the representative body by themselves, though at such time as they shall think it necessary to consult together, they may unite at their discretion.

The form of doing business shall be as follows: The chiefs shall appoint a secretary for themselves, who at the meetings shall record all decisions made by them, and that book of records shall be preserved in order that no decrees affecting the interests of the kingdom may be lost.

The same shall be done by the representative body. They too shall choose a secretary for themselves; and when they meet for the purpose of seeking the interests of the kingdom, and shall come to a decision on any point, then that decision shall be recorded in a book, and the book shall be preserved, in order that nothing valuable affecting the interests of the kingdom shall be lost; and there shall no new law be made, without the approbation of a majority of the chiefs and also a majority of the representative body.

When any act has been agreed upon by them, it shall then be presented to the King, and if he approve and sign his name, and also the Premier, then it shall become a law of the kingdom, and that law shall not be repealed until it is done by the voice of those who established it.

RESPECTING THE TAX OFFICERS.

The King and Premier shall appoint tax officers, and give them their certificates of office. There shall be district tax officers for each of the islands, at the discretion of the King and Premier.

When a tax officer has received his certificate of appointment, he shall not be dismissed from office without first having a formal trial, and having been convicted of fault, at which time he shall be dismissed. Though if the law should prescribe a given number of years as the term of office, it may be done.

The following are the established duties of the tax officers: They shall assess the taxes and give notice of the amount to all the people, that they may understand in suitable time. The tax officers shall make the assessment in subserviency to the orders of the governors, and in accordance with the requirements of the law. And when the taxes are to be gathered, they shall gather them and deliver the property to the governor, and the governor shall pay it over to the Premier, and the Premier shall deliver it to the King.

The tax officers shall also have charge of the public labour done for the King, though if they see proper to commit it to the land agents it is well, but the tax officers being above the land agents shall be accountable for the work. They shall also have charge of all new business which the King shall wish to extend through the kingdom. In all business, however, they shall be subject to the governor.

The tax officers shall be the judges in all cases arising under the tax law. In all cases where land agents or landlords are charged with oppressing the lower classes, and also in all cases of difficulty between land agents and tenants, the tax officers shall be the judges, and also all cases arising under the tax law enacted on the 7th of June, 1839.

They shall moreover perform their duties in the following manner: Each tax officer shall be confined in his authority to his own appropriate district. If a difficulty arises between a land agent and his tenant, the tax officer shall try the case, and if the tenant be found guilty, then the tax officer, in connection with the land agent, shall execute the law upon him. But if the tax officer judge the land agent to be in fault, then he shall notify all the tax officers of his particular island, and if they are agreed, they shall pass sentence on him and the governor shall execute it. But in all trials, if any individual take exception to the decision of the tax officer, he may appeal to the governor, who shall have the power to try the case again, and if exceptions are taken to the decision of the governor, on information given to the supreme judges, there shall be a new and final trial before them.

OF THE JUDGES.

Each of the governors shall, at his discretion, appoint judges for his particular island, two or more as he shall think expedient, and shall give them certificates of office. After having received their certificates, they shall not be turned out, except by impeachment, though it shall be proper at any time for the law to limit the term of office.

They shall act in the following manner: They shall give notice beforehand of the days on which courts are to be held. When the time specified arrives, they shall enter on the trials according as the law shall direct.

They shall be the judges in cases arising under all the laws, excepting those which regard taxation, or difficulties between land agents, or landlords and their tenants. They shall be sustained by the governor, whose duty it shall be to execute the law according to their decisions. But if exceptions are taken to their judgment, whosoever takes them may appeal to the supreme judges.

OF THE SUPREME JUDGES.

The representative body shall appoint four persons, whose duty it shall be to aid the King and Premier, and these six persons shall constitute the supreme court of the kingdom.

Their business shall be to settle all cases of difficulty which are left unsettled by the tax officers and common judges. They shall give a new trial according to the conditions of the law. They shall give previous notice of the time for holding courts, in order that those who are in difficulty may appeal. The decision of these shall be final. There shall be no further trial after theirs. Life, death, confinement, fine, and freedom from it, are all in their hands, and their decisions are final.

OF CHANGES IN THIS CONSTITUTION.

This constitution shall not be considered as finally established, until the people have generally heard it, and have appointed persons according to the provisions herein made, and they have given their assent, then this constitution shall be considered as permanently established.

But hereafter, if it should be thought desirable to change it, notice shall be previously given, that all the people may understand the nature of the proposed change; and the succeeding year, at the meeting of the chiefs and the representative body, if they shall agree as to the addition proposed or as to the alteration, then they may make it.

The above constitution has been agreed to by the chiefs, and we have hereunto subscribed our names, this eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1840, at Honolulu, Oahu.

(Signed) KAMEHAMEHA III.
KEKAULUOHI.

Suitable harbour and quarantine regulations are incorporated in the body of laws. The penal code recognises a just distinction between offences, and provides proportionate punishments. Courts of appeal and decision are established, in which, by the help of foreign juries, important cases, involving large amounts of property, have been equitably

decided. This legislation is extended to all the wants of the native population, and regulates the landed distinctions, fisheries, transmission of property, property in trust, collection of debts, interest accounts, weights and measures; in short, is sufficient, except in complex cases, arising from mercantile affairs, to provide for all the emergencies of the civilised population.

Taxation is rendered lighter and more equal. All taxes can be commuted for money; when this is wanting, they are assessed in labour, or the productions of the soil. Foreigners pay nothing but a voluntary capitation tax of a trifling amount annually.

A great interest is manifested in education; the law provides schools and teachers for all children; encouragement for agricultural enterprises is freely afforded, and bounties for the introduction of useful arts and productions, and for those whose time and abilities shall be made of public benefit. An enlightened spirit pervades the whole system; in its present incipient stage it cannot be expected to bear the fruits of maturity, but on such a foundation, a fair and firm fabric will doubtless arise. The government, not to let their enactments become a dead letter, have provided for their monthly exposition by the judges and subordinate officers to the people. If they do not eventually become what their legislators would have them, the burden will rest upon their own shoulders; government has opened wide the door of moral and political advancement; and no more efficient aids to the cause exist, than His Majesty, Governor Kekuanaoa, and some chiefs of lesser degree. In 1840, to the surprise of the foreigners, who predicted the customary leniency towards rank, the majesty of the laws was fully asserted in the hanging of a chief of high blood, for the murder of his wife. Later still, in 1841, the English consul was fined by a municipal court, for riotous conduct, while the judge addressed a withering rebuke to him, as the representative of an enlightened nation, for setting aside all respect for his office or character, and appealed to

the other official gentlemen present, for their countenance in the support of good order.

The annual assemblages of the king and council have been annually held at Lahaina, the capital of the kingdom. Every succeeding one has manifested an improvement upon the last. Legislative forms are becoming better understood, and modifications of the code made to suit the necessities of the times. In 1842, a treasury system was adopted, which, in its infancy, has given a credit to the government it never before possessed. Instead of the former squandering methods by which moneys were entrusted to courtiers or dependants, and never strictly accounted for, they are deposited in a regular treasury, at the head of which is Dr. G. P. Judd, a man eminently qualified to give satisfaction to all classes. Assisted by intelligent natives, accounts of receipts from taxes, port charges, and the customs, for which, within the past year, a slight duty on imports has been laid, are kept, and from the proceeds the expenses and debts of government are regularly paid. Instead of living upon their tenants, the officers receive stated salaries; but these and other changes are too recent and unsettled to be chronicled as history—they are but landmarks in the rapid improvement of the nation.

Notwithstanding the disastrous consequences which ensued upon the first results of the Laplace treaty, great efforts were made to stem the current. From the great quantity of liquors introduced, and their cheapness, it was feared, and with reason, that the old thirst for ardent spirits would be awakened. Many did drink to excess, and men and women reeling through the streets were common sights. As it was impossible to exclude the temptation, the chiefs, though partial to their use themselves, determined to restrict the sale by preventing the demand. The natives were prohibited from manufacturing ardent spirits; temperance societies were formed, and by combination and addresses the enthusiasm of the nation enkindled; thousands, particularly of the young, joined them, and finally the king, setting an example which

was followed by most of his chiefs, pledged himself to total abstinence.

In religious knowledge the progress of the nation has been respectable. In 1841, there were sixteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-three members of the Protestant churches, and this number was increasing. Upwards of eighteen thousand children are receiving instruction in schools, most of which, however, embrace simply the elementary branches; these are so generally diffused, that it is uncommon to find a native who cannot read or write, and who does not possess some knowledge of arithmetic and geography. In the High School, and some of the boarding-schools, a much more extended education prevails; sufficient to qualify the pupils for becoming teachers, or eventually filling more responsible professions. It is a striking fact that, of all the business documents in possession of the Hawaiian government, accumulated in their intercourse with foreigners, one-half bear the *marks* of the latter, who were unable to write; while there is but one instance of so deplorable ignorance on the part of the natives, and that was of Kaikoewa, late governor of Kauai, whose age and infirmities were a sufficient apology for his neglect. If a belief that the Bible contains the revealed will of God, the sacred observance of the Sabbath, the erection of churches, the diffusion of education, gratuitous contributions of money for charitable purposes, to a large amount annually, a general attendance on divine worship, and interest in religious instruction, and a standard of morality rapidly improving, constitutes a Christian nation, the Hawaiians of 1842 may safely claim that distinction. When compared with their condition at the abolition of idolatry, it is a matter of surprise and gratitude that so much has been accomplished. Rightly to appreciate the change, their original character should be accurately known. No one who justly estimates the difference will fail to acknowledge the obligations due, under Providence, to that benevolent instrumentality by which it has been mostly effected.

At their re-discovery, by Cook, heathenism had waxed hoary in iniquity and vileness. Little better than miserable hordes of savages, living in perpetual warfare, writhing under a despotism strained to its utmost tension, and victims to the insatiable avarice of a bloody-minded priestcraft, they had reached that period when decline or revolution must have ensued. By the adventitious aids of commerce, the aspiring Kamehameha effected the latter; blood was freely spilt; but under his universal rule, the horde of priestly and feudal tyrants were merged into one—himself—whose justice and benevolence, imperfect as they were when viewed in the light of increased wisdom, are allowed, by the concurrent testimony of Hawaiians and foreigners, to have formed a new era in their history. During his reign, civilization had full scope for its effects upon barbarism; good men advised, moral men were examples; and the result was in accordance with the strength of the principle brought to bear upon them. The Hawaiians became a nation of skilful traders, dealing with an honesty quite equal to that which they received: mercantile cunning succeeded the former avaricious violence; good faith became a principle of interest; scepticism weakened bigotry. This was all the spirit of gain, in its civilized costume, could accomplish; it had bettered the condition of the savage, inasmuch as it was itself superior to brute lust. It carried them to the height, upon which it was itself poised; a modern Pisgah, from which glimpses of the promised land could be seen. By inoculating their minds with the desire, though crude, for better things, it became the instrument of the rising of the spirit of liberty, and the first step toward mental ascendancy. Further progress could only be gained by the active recognition of the Divine command, "Go ye and teach all nations." This was obeyed by that people who had been the most alive to its commercial advantages. The struggles and labours of twenty-one years of missionary exertions, and their general results upon the political and religious character of the nation, have been depicted. During that time upwards of five hun-

dred thousand dollars have been devoted by the "American Board of Foreign Missions," for this purpose. More than forty families of missionaries employed throughout the group; the advantages of well-regulated domestic circles practically shown; one hundred millions of pages printed and distributed; among which were two extensive editions of the Bible, and translations and compilations of valuable school and scientific books. The multiplicity of religious works have been varied by others of historical and general interest; newspapers printed; in fine, the rudiments of a native literature formed, which bids fair to meet the increasing wants of the nation. Several islanders have manifested good powers of composition; and, both by their writings and discourses, have been of eminent advantage to their countrymen. Neither have the mechanical arts been neglected by their instructors. Under their tuition, the labours of the needle have been made universal. Weaving, spinning, and knitting have been introduced. With the same illiberality which characterized some of the earliest white settlers, who refused to instruct the natives for fear they would soon "know too much," a number of the mechanics of the present day associated themselves to prevent any of their trade from working with, or giving instruction to natives. But their mechanical skill was not thus to be repressed; with the assistance of the missionaries, numbers have become creditable workmen. Among them are to be found good masons, carpenters, printers, bookbinders, tailors, blacksmiths, shoemakers, painters, and other artisans. Their skill in copper-engraving is remarkable. They are apt as domestics, expert and good-natured as seamen, hard workers as labourers, and in all the departments of menial service, faithful in proportion to their knowledge and recompense.

By the influence of the mission and a few foreigners, the king first set the example of paying regular wages to his workmen. He has extensive tracts of land under cultivation, principally for sugar. His subjects are rapidly engaging in more systematic agricultural operations. The plough, cattle,

and implements of civilized farming, are rapidly coming into use. Competition has given a new impulse to their internal trade; public improvements have been made; in short, the Hawaiians are yearly giving more evidence of their capacity for learning, and their capability of taking care of themselves. Their aggregate wealth and resources are greatly upon the increase, and that, too, in a more extended ratio than among the foreign population. The floating class of foreigners, consisting of families, men of business, whose pursuits draw them temporarily to this country, have in number for the last five years not more than held their own. In fact, during that time, that population has almost entirely changed, and there are now few who may be accounted as permanent residents, while that class who intermarry in the nation, and exercise an important and direct bearing upon its wealth and civilisation, and whose interests are closely connected with those of the people, have much increased. No one can visit any of the islands at intervals of a year or more, and not be convinced of a steady and progressive change for the better; the naked are now clothed; goods are carried to the door of every hut, and any article of Hawaiian industry which can be converted into cash, in this or any other country, received in exchange. In many of the various departments of business, by their cheapness of living, and advantages derived from nationality, they are enabled to compete successfully with the whites.

It is no injustice to the foreign traders to attribute this general prosperity mainly to missionary efforts. By them, the islands have been made desirable residences for a better and more refined class of whites; these have been instrumental of much good, and even of counteracting the somewhat too rigid and exclusive tendencies of the mission. But they came for pecuniary gain, and the good resulting from their intercourse was incidental. The whole undivided counsels and exertions of the mission have been applied to the spread of Christianity and civilization. How far they have been successful, let the result answer; to me, it shines like the

dawning of the Sun of Righteousness upon a blinded race; even as the oasis engenders life and resuscitates the weary traveller over arid wastes, so these islands, redeemed to civilization the first, if not the fairest fruits of modern philanthropy, foster the toil-worn voyager. To the yells of treacherous men, the wiles of a licentiousness, degraded beneath the lust of brutes, sights of perishing infants, bitter strifes, the more horrible sacrifices of a pagan hierarchy, and the cruelties of a pitiless oligarchy, have succeeded kindly greetings, the welcome of hospitable homes, peaceful commerce, the equitable supremacy of civil law, and the worship "in spirit and truth" of Jehovah. So little are these facts appreciated or understood by the world at large, that recently two captains, one an American, the other an Englishman, upon arriving off Oahu, made preparations to resist attack; the former frightened at the sight of some peaceful fishermen; the latter only venturing ashore with arms in his pocket; and yet among no other community on the globe, can the traveller sojourn, at the present day, with greater security of person and property.

CHAPTER XII.

Mercantile Statistics—Shipping of various nations—Comparative amounts—Imports and Exports from 1836 to 1842—Number of foreign families—American population—Value of property—American enterprise—English jealousy—Comparison between official conduct of the representatives of both nations—Citizens and subjects—Hudson's Bay Company—Their Commercial conquests and designs—National spoliations of England and France in Polynesia—Probable destiny of the Hawaiian archipelago—Vast importance to American commercial interests if allowed to remain independent—Consequences if seized upon by a foreign power—Present national policy—Commendable exertions for education of chiefs—Present nobles—Rank—Emphatic language of the President of the United States, a guarantee of their independence—Probable course of England and Russia—France.

THE importance of the Hawaiian group, in a commercial view, is best illustrated by the statistics of trade for the last few years. As early as 1823, from forty to sixty whale-ships, mostly American, were to be seen in the harbour of Honolulu at one time. They came for refreshment. The sandal-wood trade also employed several vessels at this period. Since then, whale-ships have made these islands their principal rendezvous in the Pacific, and those of the United States have far exceeded in number, all of other nations. From January, 1836, to December 31, 1841, three hundred and fifty-eight vessels, belonging to the United States, touched at Honolulu: four-fifths of these were whalers; the average expenditures of which were from seven hundred to eight hundred dollars each. Seventeen men-of-war, including the visits of the United States Exploring Expedition, arrived within the same period. The statistics of English vessels give eighty-two, mostly whalers, and nine men-of-war. Those of France, seven merchantmen and whalers, and five men-of-war. A few vessels belonging to Mexico, Chili, Tahiti, Sydney, China, Russia and Prussia also arrived.

At Lahaina, the average annual number of American whalers is from thirty to fifty—at other ports, from twelve to twenty. Those of other nations seldom anchor elsewhere than at Honolulu. The average annual value of American property touching at Honolulu, including the outfits of whalers, at the lowest estimate, is 1,200,000 dollars. If to this is added the cargoes of oil, and other property, with the ships touching at the other islands, it would swell the amount to 4,000,000 dollars, and upwards of two thousand seamen, exclusive of national vessels and their crews. The amount of other foreign property is proportionate to their number of vessels, and it will be seen that those of the United States are four times as numerous as the English. The imports are in the same proportion. From January, 1836, to August, 1841, there were imported from the United States, in merchant vessels, goods to the gross amount of 935,000 dollars; (whale-ships usually leave small invoices, which, if estimated with the above amount, would swell the sum considerably.)

	Dollars.
From United States,	935,000
" England,	127,600
" California	282,700
" China,	233,990
" Mexico, (specie and bullion)	167,600
" Chili,	160,000
" Other sources	127,300
Total of	2,034,190

Exports within the same period.

Sandal-wood,	65,000
Hides,	90,000
Goatskins,	27,240
Sugar,	34,000
Molasses,	17,130
Arrow-root,	5,820
Salt,	20,000
Sperm Oil, (vessels fitted from Honolulu)	13,900
Sundries, (supplies to shipping, etc.)	275,000
Total of	548,090

A large amount of the imports are purchased for re-shipment to California, the Russian settlements and the southern islands. Bills of exchange drawn by the governors of the Russian colonies, on the imperial government, and by masters of vessels, and pursers of men-of-war, afford the means of profitable remittances, they being usually negotiated at a discount of from fifteen to twenty per cent.*

Including the families of the American mission, there are about sixty from the United States, settled at these islands, and about an equal number formed by intermarriage with the natives. The American population exceeds, by several hundreds, all other foreigners, the most numerous of which are the Chinese and English. The value of buildings, stock, furniture, and other property belonging to the American mission, will not fall far short of 100,000 dollars; but from its situation, occupying the soil, by permission, for definite purposes, this valuation is based upon the cost, and not upon its marketable worth. The whole amount of property held by Americans, invested in permanent improvements, agricultural pursuits, shipping, and stocks of trade, cannot be reckoned at less than 1,000,000 dollars. In 1836, it was estimated at 400,000 dollars—other foreign property, about one-fifth.

These statistics show the real importance of these islands to American commerce, and the relative ratio to that of other nations. By American benevolence and enterprise, they have attained their present importance; but if caution is not used, if the fair bud which has thus far been fostered by American citizens, is not nurtured and strengthened by their government, a rival nation will pluck the fruit. The English have looked with increasing jealousy upon the success of American enterprise in this quarter. Headed by their consul, intrigues have been set on foot to defeat their commercial, as well as missionary success. Facts to which their citizens have long been blind, have at last been developed, which have stripped the veil from the eyes of the opposers of the latter, and the

* See Polynesian of August, 1840 and 1841—vols. 1 and 2. Honolulu—Oahu.

real designs of their enemies disclosed. The Americans now at the islands, feel their success to be blended with that of the mission; two parties have been formed, both struggling for commercial ascendancy. Through the years of abuse, insult and varied falsehood, flatteries and threats, which have been practised toward the native authorities since the appointment of Mr. Charlton, and the overbearing presumption of some of his resident countrymen, the nation has become weaned from their former attachment to England. Her power and munificence are as much respected as ever; but the sympathies of all classes are strongly American.

Independent of the above causes, the more intimate relations with the latter nation, the superior advantages derived from their commercial and other connections, and the uninterrupted harmony of official intercourse, with the uniform courtesy and kindness received from the commanders of United States' ships of war, with the exception of the unfortunate Dolphin, have tended to this result. Injuries or insults received from American citizens have been promptly redressed; that government as wisely as honourably insisted upon even-handed justice; it countenanced no wrong in its own citizens, nor allowed imposition towards them. In its consular instructions it is powerfully urged to respect the native institutions, and to afford no protection to American citizens in any attempt to violate the laws or circumvent the government. With Englishmen the case has been far different; few in number, and with some honourable exceptions, ignorant and presumptuous, they have been the easy tools of their consul, and in violation of the expressed sense of their government, attempted to treat the authorities with the pride and arrogance of conquerors; or as if possessing privileges and immunities not granted to other nations. They founded the claim upon the cession of Hawaii to Vancouver, without reflecting that it never received the sanction of their government; that the appointment of a consul, and the negotiation of a treaty, were formal acknowledgments of their political existence as an

independent nation. If a stronger evidence of the views of the English ministry were needed, it was furnished in 1840, by Lord Palmerston, who stated in Parliament, that the Sandwich Islands were "friendly states." In 1824, they were declared to be under her protection; how far, or of what nature, is this guardianship, has never been defined. England has allowed her rights to be trampled on by the French, without expostulation; though there is scarcely room for doubt, that her interference would be prompt and effective, should the conquest of the group be attempted. Her commercial interests and naval power in the Pacific would be deeply involved; it would have been well for her true policy had the appointment of their present consul, Charlton, been revoked, in accordance with the petitions of the Hawaiian government. But a stronger interest than justice or national honour, has continued him in office; while his unceasing hostility to the government, and the whole character of his official intercourse, has been detrimental to his own countrymen. The strong contrast which it has exhibited to that of the officers of the United States, has operated to the advantage of the latter. So well are the machinations, effrontery, and ribaldry of this man known by those with whom he has contact, that were it not for the importance and means of injury, derived from his official station, he would be an object of pity and contempt. His ascendancy over whites and natives, has been proportionate with the looseness of morals. In 1833, during the abolition of the laws, he was all-dominant, and openly expressed his determination of having the American missionaries sent from the islands. It would be a great task to allude to a moiety of his intrigues and designs; to refer to his character at all, is a melancholy one, but its importance in Hawaiian annals, renders it necessary. Through the whole course of his career, he has been to that nation, what the nightmare is to a half-awakened man; an incubus, it was powerless to remove; a monstrous phantom to a lethargic mind; but to an awakened one, an object of disgust.

A powerful ally to English commercial interests has been secured in the effective coöperation of the Hudson's Bay Company, and one which, if successful, is destined to swallow up all individual enterprises, whether English, French, or American. Its progress upon the North-west coast of America, its encroachments upon the national domain of the United States, the vast resources and vigorous policy of this gigantic mercantile monopoly, with its slow but sure march of commercial conquest, have been fully illustrated in Mr. Greenhow's Memoir of the Oregon Territory, published by authority of Congress. That body are now alive to the country's interest in that quarter; but if they wish to secure safe harbours, free from hostile regulations, or a restrictive policy, which would effectually close their ports to American commerce, the independence and neutrality of the Hawaiian nation must be guaranteed.

The Hudson's Bay Company have already driven American shipping from its former branches of lucrative trade, the Russian settlements, and the north-west coast of America; are gaining upon it in California, and within a year have made a bold attempt to monopolize that of the Hawaiian islands. In this, if a judgment can be formed from their past successes, their wealth, sufficient to exhaust the puny competition of individual traders, and the determination exhibited, which boldly avows for its object, the extinction of American commerce in that region, they may be successful.

Allied with this design, is the object of either securing the action of the Hawaiian government in their favour, or of having it pass into the power of their own. If the jealousy which has thus far characterized the landed policy of the chiefs is retained, this will not soon be effected with their consent. It was proposed by the governor of the Russian colonies in the North Pacific, to the king, when a mere boy, to secure a lease of mountain land, for the alleged purpose of raising wheat. He replied to the individual who

made the application, "if they have the hills, the valleys would soon follow," and desired him never to allude to the topic again.

Speculation is rife upon the future condition of this archipelago. Some indulge in visions of greatness and prosperity, based upon the increasing civilisation of the present inhabitants, and look forward to the time when it shall become a kingdom, known and respected among kindred nations. In the progress of the people in refinement and knowledge, they see strong hopes for the future.

Others not only desire, but stand ready to aid in any change which shall cause the power to pass from the present chiefs, and place some civilised government in their stead. They are comparatively few in number, and divided by a want of common interests among themselves. Like most revolutionists they desire a change, and yet would be puzzled to define their wishes. The present government in their eyes is barbarous and impotent; their pecuniary prosperity trammelled by their edicts; and they look forward, as did the Israelites in the days of Samuel, to a new king, who shall be a ruler after their own hearts. The majority of the residents are sincere friends of the nation, and would aid them in an emergency, and stand between them and oppression.

To the citizens of the United States, it is a deeply interesting problem. The interests of no other nation are so much at stake. Shall others reap what they have sown? Shall the signal triumphs of the gospel, introduced by her citizens, under the panoply of the Prince of Peace, be arrested in their onward course by the hand of violence, and their fruits be made to nourish a pernicious creed; or be rudely plucked and cast down; things to be gazed at, mocked, and scorned? In the march of modern civilisation, in the front ranks of which the Anglo-Saxon race is now pouring with a torrent's force from the east and west, until they have almost encircled the globe, and have shaken to their foundations the

century-worn institutions of primeval ages, it may be impossible to preserve the unity of the Hawaiian race. It is the tendency of the age for smaller and weaker communities to seek security and importance in the larger. A few great powers give law to the globe.

Recent events would seem to prove that violence was hastening the consummation of events which sooner or later would have quietly and justly occurred. The islands of Polynesia are the present field of national spoliation. New Zealand has fallen to England; the neighbouring groups are claimed. France, jealous of this increase in her rival's domain, has fitted out a powerful expedition, and already taken a lion's share; the Washington Islands, discovered by an American, and formally taken possession of, though on no rightful grounds, by Commodore Porter, have become hers; an English fleet has followed in their wake; the ultimate intentions of both time must disclose. Philanthropists of every country will join in the wish, for the sake of humanity, for the solving of the long-mooted question—the capability of savages for a permanent and refined civilisation, based upon the principles of Christianity, that the Hawaiian islands may escape their clutches. The American merchant and politician will heartily respond to this desire. A few years will serve to show whether their auspicious progress will ripen into maturity.

The Oregon Territory offers no ports which would compensate for the loss of the Hawaiian. California in the possession of a hostile power, the islands of the Pacific divided as prizes among rival commercial nations, whose influence over its whole extent of sea and coast would be decidedly inimical to American enterprise, and the consequences would be disastrous. The United States would present the singular anomaly of possessing a long line of coast bordering upon that ocean, yet without the means of rendering it available to her commerce. The sails of her rivals or enemies would dot its expanse in triumph; ports and naval depositories under

their lee, and markets at their control; while the commerce of America must take the circuit of Cape Horn, exposed to the vicissitudes of long voyages, and the wavering policy of doubtful friends, or encounter the risks of the mouth of the Columbia, one of whose banks is yet a disputed possession.

Were a foreign power to seize upon the Hawaiian islands, invite emigration, foster commerce and agriculture, it cannot be doubted that their mercantile resources would be more rapidly developed, and greater wealth and industry ensue. But this could only result from an act of injustice toward the owners of the soil, such as any modern government would hesitate to execute. Statesmen of this day are slow to brave the moral sense of a people. In a case like this, the successful despoiler must not only face the indignation of those among his own nation, whose sense of right is not lost in the pride of national aggrandizement, but also the aroused jealousies of disappointed rivals for the same prize. The neutralizing effect of the ambition of the great powers that now wield the destinies of the world, is equally as strong a guarantee of the independence of these islands, as the want of a pretext to destroy their liberties. There will not be wanting those who will seek an occasion to make them their own. But the day of such a revolution, it is to be hoped, is far distant; nothing but a violent overturning among the nations of the earth, the obliteration of old landmarks, and the formation of new, the march of war and conquest, the ascendency of the law of might, will bring this to pass in our generation. Their isolated position is a great safeguard. Were they on the borders of a powerful nation, exposed directly to the rapacity and designs of interested states or individuals, their laws and customs clashing with an all-dominant public opinion, the fate of the Indian tribes of North America would be theirs—they must either recede or yield. But thousands of ocean miles protect them on all sides and their salubrious climate and diversified soil yield

most of the necessaries of life. In their intercourse with foreign powers, their policy is yearly becoming more safe, and past lessons have taught them the necessity of caution. That they will overstep the bounds of prudence, or irritate a greater than themselves, is not to be expected; and we find of late, that while their government has been gaining strength at home, it has also shown increased wisdom in all its foreign diplomatic intercourse.

By treaty, consulships, presents, friendly diplomatic intercourse, and respect of flags and papers, and whatever else implies nationality, have the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, Spain, China, and the Spanish American governments, recognised their political existence. Within the present year an embassy, consisting of Timoteo Haalilio, the secretary of his Hawaiian majesty, with Mr. Richards as interpreter, has arrived in this country. Alarmed by the progress of the French arms in the Pacific, they have come to solicit of the governments of the United States, England, and France, the formal recognition and guaranty of their national existence, and to negotiate treaties of commerce based upon reciprocity; their ports to be open alike to the commerce of the world. It is not much to ask that they may be permitted to take care of themselves,—to remain the innkeepers of the great ocean. Interest, justice, and benevolence prompt accedence to the request. Preserve them from the desolating influences of the poisonous products of other climes, and the exactions and tyranny of foreign naval interference, and a people will there spring up, christianised and civilised. Their independence guaranteed, and the progress of those beneficent principles of charity which have infused a new life into their veins will become yet more rapid. With their increasing happiness and prosperity, a slow but gradual intermingling of the white and Hawaiian races will ensue; a nation will arise in which the differences of colour, languages, and influences of the present day will harmonize; the English language predominate; and the benevolent in-

tentions of Providence, unfrustrated by man, be shown in a moral, prosperous, and powerful community. It is as unwise as useless to attempt to preserve the entire nationality of the Polynesian race. It would be but a blind adherence to a sentiment which has nothing beside sympathy with the past to recommend it. The past, to them, was full of error and trouble; the future can be of wisdom and happiness. For their perpetuity, the virtues, language, and knowledge, of the Anglo-Saxon race must be adopted. So far as they have been, their importance has increased; and it will be far better for them to form a link in that powerful chain which is destined to leave its impress upon every nation of the globe, than on the barren soil of their own resources to pant and struggle for existence, and finally pass into the sleep of death.

It would appear that the chiefs are aware of this necessity. They fear that if the number and wealth of the foreign population increase in an excessive ratio compared with that of the native, the result would be nearly the same as if another government held the reins of state. Power is closely allied with wealth and knowledge, and it would be but a short time before foreigners would secure a voice in the government. It could not be expected that the laws which would answer for a semi-barbarous race, would meet the exigencies of a civilised. In justice to themselves, and to preserve the country from anarchy, they would be obliged to exercise a legislative influence. That influence once secured, it would not be difficult to foresee that, whatever nominal form the government might assume, the real power would be united with the superior talents and monied estates of the whites. That this is a danger which his majesty's council is fully alive to, the late enactments show. Their policy is to retain the undivided right to every inch of their soil, with a claim upon all the improvements. Leases of lands are difficult to obtain, and only upon such terms as will effectually prevent any extensive immigration, while every encouragement is given to their

own subjects to interest themselves in agriculture. It is the policy of this government to admit only sufficient capital into their country to be invested in such permanent improvements as will, when judiciously scattered through the group, serve to stimulate and enlighten their people, and enable them to compete with the whites.

More fully to secure to the rising generation the advantages of rulers, adapted by education to their more enlightened desires, the youthful chiefs, embracing the heir-presumptive to the crown, the intended governors of the several islands, and others of both sexes, destined for important offices of state, to the number of twelve, were four years since placed in the family of an American missionary, who receives his support from their parents. A large and commodious building was erected for their accommodation. In it, apart from all evil influences to be derived from their own countrymen, they are reared in all the refinements of a civilised and Christian family. The system of education embraces all the branches necessary for the important stations they are expected to fill. Their studies are pursued in the English language, so that in a few years its rich stores of literature will be as free to them as their own tongue. A judicious combination of instruction in manual exercises, and a due respect of rank, are united with their intellectual pursuits. The result thus far, shows a happy, healthful, and studious little community.

The deaths of Liholiho and his queen created an unfortunate prejudice in the minds of the high-chiefs against travelling,—a foreign climate being considered fatal to their race. The year 1842 was the first in which a native of rank, Haalilio, left his country for a less genial clime. Should he be returned in safety, this dread would be diminished. A strong desire exists to witness for themselves the mighty mechanical improvements of which they have but imperfectly heard; to learn the operations of government on an extended scale, and to become familiar with the whole machinery of

the civil and domestic life of the nations to whom they look for examples in these matters. Though the present king may never be induced to leave his dominions, it is thought wise that the family of young chiefs shall finish their education by extensive travels in the United States and Europe. Under suitable guardians, these tours may be made as useful as they would prove interesting; and their future subjects reap the reward of their superior attainments. Whether they will ever succeed to their parents' offices is extremely problematical; foreign powers or domestic revolution may usurp their legitimate rights. Be the results as they may, they cannot be deprived of the fruits of the sensible system of education which parental love has planned for them. If the honours of chieftainship are destined never to be theirs, the patriotism of citizens, grafted upon the good principles which they thus early imbibe, will make them useful in more humble situations.

Of the high chiefs of Kamehameha I., his counsellors, none now survive. Hoapili, his firm friend and constant companion during his lifetime, died January 3rd, 1840, in the seventy-second year of his age. His wife, Hoapili-wahine, died in the same month, 1842. Her disease was the croup; she had been the friend of Vancouver, and wife of Kamehameha I. Hoapili and his consort were the last individuals of eminence whose deeds connect the past with the present. Since the death of Cook, they had participated in all the political movements of the group; were among the first converts to Christianity, and in their deaths, as in their lives since that period, were faithful and efficient exemplars of their holy faith.

At the present time, Kuakini governs Hawaii, and is to be succeeded by Lilihoku, son of Kalaimoku. John Young, son of the sailor-chief, who died in 1835 at a very advanced age, has the charge of Maui and the neighbouring islands, for the second son of Kinau. The eldest is to have Kauai and Niihau, of which, until he is qualified, Keaweamahi, relict of

Kaikoewa, has the nominal governorship. His majesty having no heirs from his own marriage, being united to a woman of petty rank, and his sister having left no issue, has, with the consent of his council, adopted the third son of Kinau, Alexander Liholiho, as heir-presumptive. Kekuanaoa, governor of Oahu, by his impartiality, good sense, and courteous deportment, has won for himself much esteem.

May this government, which, by forbearance, and equity, and firmness, has triumphed over its internal enemies, obtain the boon of freedom from the greater than they. If that holy principle, "do as you would be done by," is allowed to regulate their councils, the reader who has thus far followed me in the narrative of the obstacles which have so greatly checked and overshadowed its progress, may yet see them vanish, and the Hawaiians take a rank as a useful, though humble, member of the community of nations; a monument of the Christian benevolence and enterprise of American citizens. The United States have already done their part. In a message of the President to Congress, dated December 31, 1842, the following emphatic language is used.

"Just emerging from a state of barbarism, the government of the islands is as yet feeble; but its dispositions appear to be just and pacific; and it seems anxious to improve the condition of its people by the introduction of knowledge, of religious and moral institutions, means of education, and the arts of civilised life.

"It cannot but be in conformity with the interest and the wishes of the government and the people of the United States, that this community, thus existing in the midst of a vast expanse of ocean, should be respected, and all its rights strictly and conscientiously regarded. And this must also be the true interest of all other commercial states. Far remote from the dominions of European powers, its growth and prosperity, as an independent state, may yet be in a high degree useful to all whose trade is extended to those regions; while its nearer approach to this continent, and the intercourse

which American vessels have with it—such vessels constituting five-sixths of all which annually visit it—could not but create dissatisfaction on the part of the United States at any attempt, by another power, should such attempt be threatened or feared, to take possession of the islands, colonize them, and subvert the native government. Considering, therefore, that the United States possess so very large a share of the intercourse with those islands, it is deemed not unfit to make the declaration, that their government seeks, nevertheless, no peculiar advantages, no exclusive control over the Hawaiian government, but is content with its independent existence, and anxiously wishes for its security and prosperity. Its forbearance, in this respect, under the circumstances of the very large intercourse of their citizens with the islands, would justify this government, should events hereafter arise to require it, in making a decided remonstrance against the adoption of an opposite policy by any other power."

England will scarcely hesitate to follow so honourable an example. Russia is interested in keeping them from the grasp of either that nation or France, as their proximity to her Asiatic and American colonial territories would, in time of war, be objectionable. In peace, she needs their neutral ports for her commerce, and to supply herself with the fruits and productions of the tropics. Her guaranty will as readily be obtained. Should France refuse the just boon, the papistical influence which directs her policy in contravention of right, will stigmatize her as the nation alone of the nineteenth century who proselytes to the Roman faith, and sends abroad her wines and brandies under cover of her cannon. If otherwise, that act of justice will redound more to her true honour than the conquest of a kingdom, and serve to wipe away the reproach a Laplace has cast upon her escutcheon.

NOTE. Since the preceding chapters have been put to press, information has reached this country, verifying some of the conjectures advanced in regard to the movements of the French in the Pacific. It affords additional weight to the argument for the prompt and efficient interference of England and the United States, to arrest their "conquests." (to use the term of the French themselves). The Society Islands have been obliged to succumb to the arts and power of Admiral Du Petit Thouars. If this system of mingled priestly and political aggrandizement, which in defiance of the moral sense of the age, the rights of nations, and the dictates of justice and humanity, is not speedily arrested, the flag of France will wave over all the groups of the Pacific, and what is now neutral ground, both in religion and commerce to the world, become the nursery of a bigoted creed and exclusive mercantile regulations. When the artillery of France and the spiritual decrees of the Pope shall have rendered their shores impregnable to Protestant influence or enterprise, the nations now so intimately interested will awake too late to repair the effects of their indifference to the desires and claims of those whom they have been instrumental in redeeming from paganism, and awakening to a sense of their political rights and importance.

APPENDIX I.

Extract from a Retrospective View of the Visit to the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands. (Stewart's South Seas, 2nd vol. p. 168.) Nov. 1829.

THE very advanced stage of the people of the Sandwich Islands in the points involving civilisation, religion, and learning, is so well established, so generally known and admitted, that I forebore to give statements of them equally minute with those I had made respecting Nukahiva, Tahiti, and Raiatea. Their civilities, letters of correspondence, and transaction of business with me, place them in a just light, and will enable our government to appreciate and judge them properly without my saying a word in their favour, beyond the simple declaration that they are much in advance of the Society Islanders, cheeringly and agreeably enlightened, acquainted limitedly with their own interests, capable of extending them, and sensible of the value of character as a nation. Their indolence of habit and amiability of disposition mislead the judgment of persons who deny their pretensions to intelligence and capacity for self-management or government; the first being overcome, and their knowledge fully aroused to the advantages which their locality affords, the latter objection will manifest itself to be erroneous. To aid in every way to elevate and instruct them, and increase their self-pride and confidence, ought to be a source of pleasure, as well as the policy of those foreigners who are amongst them; but such, I am satisfied, is neither the design nor practice of those persons: they pursue, on the contrary, a short-sighted course, watchful of their own immediate gains or advantages, apparently regardless and thoughtless of those who are to succeed them, and whose security, comfort, and pros-

perity, may be increased or diminished by the judicious or unwise plans they at present or may hereafter adopt. The gentlemen now at the Sandwich Islands forget that the natives are not the same naked, uninstructed creatures which they were when they first went among them; and in this forgetfulness,—intentional or not, it is immaterial,—treat them almost precisely as they did formerly, and contemn their pretensions to knowledge and improved condition.* Human nature cannot, nor will the chiefs much longer bear or tolerate such arrogance and injustice.† The more the respectability and importance of the chiefs and people are increased by voluntary and generous attentions from foreigners, the greater will be the security insured to themselves. Why will they continue to enjoy the hospitality of the natives, contract engagements to large amounts with them, with full reliance upon their integrity, and yet treat them in a contumelious manner or with indifference? Such is, nevertheless, the inconsistency I observed.

I am at a loss to decide wherein the foreign residents have just cause to complain of or to contemn the government of the Sandwich Islands; they affect to believe that all its measures are dictated by the missionaries. I really do not think so: they doubtless in their station, as teachers, have influence; but I rather believe it is confined as closely as is practicable or possible to that relation and no other; unless it was perceived by them that the government was about committing an act of indiscretion or gross blunder, I doubt if their voice would be heard. It is a most lamentable fact, that the dislike of the missionaries by the foreign residents, has a tendency, as yet, to paralyze the efforts which the natives are so laudably making to render themselves worthy of the support and confidence of enlightened Christian and distant nations;

* Probably exception may be fairly made to some persons of the class of foreigners.

† If *personal* profits, in a sphere for general competition or operations, are to be regarded as exclusive objects, then probably the original condition of the natives was more favourable formerly than now: I hope that I shall not be viewed as diposed to trammel laudable commercial enterprise.

and this one circumstance will render, for some time to come, the visits by our ships disagreeable to the officers who have to make them. The constant complaining against the missionaries is irksome in the extreme, and in such contrast with the conduct of the missionaries themselves, that I could not but remark their circumspection and reserve with admiration: the latter never obtruded upon my attention the grounds or causes they might have to complain of; nor did they advert to the opposition they experienced, unless expressly invited thereto by me.

If the understandings of the natives are imposed upon by the religious injunctions of the missionaries, the evil will ultimately correct itself, by the very tuition which they afford the inhabitants, more certainly and effectually than by the denunciation and declamation of foreigners, who are interested and temporary sojourners, without other than monied transactions to engage the confidence of the natives:* whereas the missionaries have adventured their families among them, and stand pledged as to the issue of their undertaking before, not only the American public, but the world at large.

Opposition similar to that now existing against the present missionaries would, doubtless, extend to like persons of any other denomination. All of our countrymen do not think alike on the special subject of religion, in which our government (very wisely and happily) does not interfere; but, all those who visit the islands in the Pacific for trade, will feel (and rightly, too,) that such order grows out of the establishment of Christianity in whatever form introduced, as to preclude undue advantages, ensure personal security, and place the islander on a footing of equality with his fellow man. Why it is supposed necessary to retain the Sandwich Islanders in a state of deeper vassalage and subjection to our avarice and caprices, than those of inferior caste to ourselves

* The missionaries, possibly, are too rigidly literal in their interpretation and enforcement of the commandments; and an error may arise from this source in the formation of provisions for police or other regulations by the native government, and in their subsequent administration and fulfilment.

at home, I am at a loss to determine. If the islanders are weary of the instruction they receive, or the restraints imposed in receiving it, they have tongues to speak, and hands to use; and, judging by the unrestrained life they have heretofore led, it is but fair to infer that they would speak and act, if causes existed for their doing so. Whilst they court knowledge, why should they be ridiculed in the search of it? Can it be shown that they have misapplied to the injury of others the limited acquirements which they do possess; on the contrary, is it not certain that intercourse with some of them has been rendered more easy, and confidence increased by this very circumstance? Are they not truly their own masters on the principle of birth, soil, and action? Wherein the right of our merchants then to interfere with them; wherein that of the missionaries? but by the best of all rights, their own invitations;* the missionaries and families are also probably more than twice as numerous as the mercantile class. If not satisfied, let merchants withdraw themselves; refreshments, &c. can still be had without their agency, as heretofore, by the masters of such vessels as may frequent the islands. I would ask if our countrymen arrogate anything to themselves other than what the laws allow at Hayti? Do they ever openly reflect upon that government? Why will they act differently, require or expect more at the Hawaiian Islands?

So great was the friendship and correctness of deportment of the chief islanders, that I could scarcely suppose myself to be among a people once and so recently heathen. Variance of language and complexion alone reminded me of it. These views may very widely vary from the opinions of those who have preceded me only a year or two; I can well believe that we do not keep pace (by means of our intercourse) with their improvements. Intervals of three years make wonder-

* It has been remarked to me that Christianity was established, or rather idolatry subverted, before the arrival of missionaries—granted; has not the arrival of these persons confirmed these measures, and strengthened the natives in their previous convictions?

ful changes, and for the better; careful and recorded observations only will assure us of the reality of them. The present king, as he advances in years, will, I feel pretty well persuaded, be a blessing to his people; his usefulness will, however, depend in a great measure, upon the choice which he may make in a companion of his power and the cares inseparable: a doubt and difficulty rest upon this interesting point, which cannot too early be removed.

By the diffusion of knowledge among the islanders at large, I can readily suppose that the influence of the resident whites, and the abject and slavish adulation and distinction heretofore paid to them, have been diminished in some degree:* will not this circumstance, to a limited extent, serve to explain the sourness and bitterness which the whites cherish, and, on many occasions, display toward the chiefs as well as the missionaries? Suppose that undue power is exercised by either residents, merchants, or missionaries, over the government of the Sandwich Islands; from which source will either the greatest good or least evil ensue? I certainly think from the missionaries.

It is seriously to be regretted that the missionary society, or some liberal-minded and generous gentlemen of wealth, do not establish and maintain at the Sandwich Islands, on an adequate salary, a person of independence of character and suitable attainments, separate from clerical avocations, merely as an adviser of the chiefs, on the principles of government, jurisprudence, &c. &c.;† or, if our government would appoint salaried Consuls, or a Chargé d'Affaires to the islands, respectively, restricting them from all participation in busi-

* A like consequence will eventually ensue to the chiefs, though I think their positions and prerogatives will never be infringed.

† It would be beneficial also if the means of subsistence for missionaries were augmented; which, when done, will enable them, both as to personal and in general respects, to appear to more advantage (than they can at present) without any departure from proper sanctity of character. They ought, if possible, to be rendered entirely independent of the natives or government, until both become more fully sensible of the value of the time, study, and attention which, as teachers, they bestow in their incalculably important functions.

ness, the desired object might be obtained. But whilst such official personages are still merchants, their influence is comparatively small, or nothing, with the government; but their own and their patrons' interest, necessarily engrossing subjects.

The various communications which I bear to my government will, I trust, awaken its more pointed attention to these islands, and to the Americans who reside in them. The protest of the merchants and traders to the principles contained in the public letter which I delivered, will claim notice; it was prepared during my short absence to Hawaii, but in my letter of the 22d November, I had anticipated its point.* I feel constrained to utter this opinion, that its arguments are unsound, its language unbecoming and hasty, its inferences unfounded, and its implications ungenerous, and in every respect injudicious. In the same breath, they, the signers, deny the jurisdiction of our government, and yet invoke protection :—taunt one department with ignorance; defend the conduct of all classes of persons who have visited the islands; fit a cap to their own head, which probably was not intended for them; speak insultingly of, and denounce missionaries; unnecessarily allude to the Rev. Mr. Stewart, and insinuate that the Vincennes has done nothing but aid in the saddling a religion on "ignorant and unsuspecting" islanders; unmindful of letters of thanks previously tendered to me for services affecting their pockets!

Is it not meant by establishing a consulate, that it shall receive the control over our citizens within its reach, which the government of the United States indisputably would exercise, if these citizens had remained at home? A public functionary openly declares and insists that his own government has no control over acts committed at the Sandwich Islands! Can our laws have been framed so blindly, or is

* Although the letter of protest is dated November 10, I did not receive it until the 23d November, subsequent to my communication to the secretary of the navy, advising him of my proceedings and intended further movements.

this construction to be ascribed to the desires or sinister counsels of others? The signers' "powerful reasons" for fearing for their "lives and property" are not set forth, and therefore, I think, can only be creatures of their own minds, unaided by facts;* the letter I conceive puts no more power into the hands of the natives than belongs to them, or than they always wielded; there can be no good reasons of objection to a letter coming from the head of any department, if the president chooses to give such direction to it. I cannot perceive that the letter advocates any particular sect in religion; nor are the petitioners required or called upon to recognise or follow the religion of the islanders now, more than they were when idolatry existed. In the nature of things, it is impossible that the petitioners can assume a responsibility for the acts or conduct of all citizens who have visited the islands, or that they can undertake to establish the position that there never has been violations of the laws, or interference with the government of the islands.† Surely the right on the part of our government to inquire into the conduct of its own citizens, sojourning temporarily abroad, was never until now contested; and as to the propriety of the governmental letter adverting to the appointment of Mr. Stewart, I humbly conceive that the government was quite as well qualified to judge, as the petitioners or protestors.

Lest anything which I have said may be construed as unduly favouring the missionaries, I take this occasion to remark that I am not of their particular church, but am a Protestant Episcopalian; so that I am under no bias on that score.‡

I have in my reports expressed an interest for Nukahiva, and given it a decided preference in point of locality over the

* If, as they say, the chiefs have been made fully to understand the letters, then it follows that security must result to everybody.

† Probably these matters come not within the scope of the gentlemen's notice, or were not thought of before.

‡ There can be no doubt that an American interest and influence is insensibly produced by benefits derived from the missionaries as American citizens.

Society Islands. I am confirmed in this predilection ; and more than ever convinced that it is a most eligible place for our commerce, and that it will become, and deserves to be, the rival of Oahu. The natural tact and vivacity of the Nukahivans are more remarkable, and superior to that of the Sandwich Islanders. The situation of the former, unless communication is had eventually over the isthmus, is far better than that of these people, for the advantages of trade by way of Cape Horn ; and I earnestly hope that the present inviting and propitious moment will be embraced to confer benefits on the Nukahivans, and secure commercial advantages to ourselves.

The novel and informal way in which property in vessels is transferred at Oahu, from one individual to another individual, each of different nations, and the license and latitude under which they navigate, deserve to be looked to. Those which go to the coast of Mexico and Northwest coast, complain of the treatment by the authorities—I cannot say how justly ; but suspect there is in this, as in almost all other cases, two sides to the same story. I rather think that some of the island commerce, carried on by foreigners, if met with at sea by a regular cruiser, would prove a fair prize, by reason of a want of, or imperfect papers, &c. It is quite common to see vessels at the Sandwich Islands, without names on their sterns, with altered names, every medley of crew, and other circumstances unusual elsewhere.

The various complaints which were made to me at Oahu, induce me to suppose that great irregularities often prevail in the prosecution of this distant commerce ; the severities which are sometimes practised toward crews is doubtless illegal—more harsh than in the navy, and in most instances inconsiderate ; but on the other hand, the ill temper and recklessness of character, which is often manifested by the sailors, unquestionably call for coercion and restraints of some nature ; how these can be wisely delegated is the desirable point. The ambiguity and evasion used in shipping crews

are the chief evils to be removed. This is the incipient stage of all the dissensions and difficulties which ultimately arise, and most generally exist during the whole space of a voyage. On these matters Captain Jones, of the Peacock, has already spoken most fully.

Of the value of property owned by American merchants at Oahu, or of that intrusted to their care and safe-keeping, and in depot, I can form no certain opinion; but infer from appearances, and the activity with which transfers or sales are effected, that it does not at any given period exceed eighty or one hundred thousand dollars.

In these remarks or review, I have abstained from giving any traditional or historical notices of the islands, their natural appearances, productions, or population, &c., all of which can be derived from numerous published accounts.

Respectfully submitted,

W. C. B. FINCH.

The Honourable the Secretary of the Navy, Washington.

APPENDIX II.

Articles of arrangement made and concluded at Oahu, between Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, appointed by the United States of the one part, and Kauikeaouli, King of the Sandwich Islands, and his Guardians, on the other part.

ARTICLE 1. The peace and friendship subsisting between the United States and their Majesties, the Queen Regent and Kauikeaouli, King of the Sandwich Islands, and their subjects and people, are hereby confirmed and declared to be perpetual.

ART. 2. The ships and vessels of the United States, (as well as their consuls and all other citizens,) within the territorial jurisdiction of the Sandwich Islands, together with all their property, shall be inviolably protected against *all* enemies of the United States in time of war.

ART. 3. The contracting parties, being desirous to avail themselves of the bounties of Divine Providence, by promoting the commercial intercourse and friendship subsisting between the respective nations, for the better security of these desirable objects, their Majesties bind themselves to receive into their ports and harbours all ships and vessels of the United States, and to protect to the uttermost of their capacity all such ships and vessels, their cargoes, officers, and crews, so long as they shall behave themselves peacefully, and not infringe the established laws of the land; the citizens of the United States being permitted to trade freely with the people of the Sandwich Islands.

ART. 4. Their Majesties do farther agree to extend the fullest protection within their control, to all ships and vessels of the United States which may be wrecked on their shores, and to render every assistance in their power to save the wreck, and her apparel and cargo; and, as a reward for the assistance and protection which the people of the Sandwich Islands shall afford to all such distressed vessels of the United States, they shall be entitled to a salvage, or a portion of the property so saved; but such salvage shall in no case exceed one-third of the value saved, which valuation is to be fixed by a commission of disinterested persons, who shall be chosen equally by the parties.

ART. 5. Citizens of the United States, whether resident or transient, engaged in commerce, or trading to the Sandwich Islands, shall be inviolably protected in their lawful pursuits; and shall be allowed to sue for and recover by judgment all claims against the subjects of His Majesty the King, according to strict principles of equity, and the acknowledged practice of civilized nations.

ART. 6. Their Majesties do farther agree, and bind themselves, to discountenance and use all practicable means to prevent desertion from all American ships which visit the Sandwich Islands; and to that end, it shall be made the duty of all governors, magistrates, chiefs of districts, and all others

in authority, to apprehend all deserters, and deliver them over to the master of the vessel from which they have deserted; and for the apprehension of every such deserter who shall be delivered over as aforesaid, the master, owner, or agent, shall pay to the person or persons apprehending such deserter the sum of six dollars, if taken on the side of the island near which the vessel is anchored; but if taken on the opposite side of the island, the sum shall be twelve dollars; and if taken on any other island, the reward shall be twenty-four dollars, and shall be a just charge against the wages of every such deserter.

ART. 7. No tonnage duties or impost shall be exacted of any citizen of the United States, which is not paid by the citizens or subjects of the nation most favoured in commerce with the Sandwich Islands; and the citizens or subjects of the Sandwich Islands shall be allowed to trade with the United States and her territories, upon principles of equal advantage with the most favoured nation.

Done in Council at Honolulu, Island of Oahu, this 23rd day of December, in the year of our Lord 1826.

ELISABETA KAAHUMANU,
KARAIMOKU,
BOKI,
HOAPILI,
LIDIA NAMAHANA,
THOS. AP CATESBY JONES.

APPENDIX III.

TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Articles made and agreed on at Honolulu, Island of Oahu, this 15th day of November, 1836.

ARTICLE 1. English subjects shall be permitted to come with their vessels and property of whatever kind to the Sand-

wich Islands; they shall also be permitted to reside therein as long as they conform to the laws of these islands, and to build houses and warehouses for their merchandize with the consent of the King, and good friendship shall continue between the subjects of both countries, Great Britain and the Sandwich Islands.

ART. 2. English subjects resident at the Sandwich Islands are at liberty to go to their own country or elsewhere, either in their own or any other vessel; they may dispose of their effects, enclosures, houses, &c., with the previous knowledge of the King, and take the value with them without any impediment whatever; the land on which houses are built is the property of the King, but the King shall have no authority to destroy the houses or in any way injure the property of any British subject.

ART. 3. When an English subject dies on the Sandwich Islands, his effects shall not be searched or touched by any of the Governors or Chiefs, but shall be delivered into the hands of his executors or heirs, if present, but if no heir or executor appear, the Consul or his agent shall be executor for the same; if any debts were owing to the deceased, the Governor of the place shall assist and do all in his power to compel the debtors to pay their debts to the heir or executor, or the Consul in case no heir or executor appears, and the Consul is to inform the King of the death of every British subject leaving property upon the Sandwich Islands.

KAMEHAMEHA III.
ED. RUSSELL,
Captain of H. B. Majesty's Ship Acteon.

APPENDIX IV.

AN ORDINANCE REJECTING THE CATHOLIC RELIGION.

As we have seen the peculiarities of the Catholic religion, and the proceedings of the priests of the Romish faith, to be calculated to set man against man in our kingdom, and as we

formerly saw that disturbance was made in the time of Kaahumanu I., and as it was on this account that the priests of the Romish faith were at that time banished and sent away from this kingdom, and as from that time they have been under sentence of banishment until within this past year, when we have been brought into new and increased trouble on account of those who follow the Pope, and as our determination to keep away such persons is by no means recent, and also on account of the request of foreigners, that we make it known in writing; Therefore I, with my chiefs, forbid, by this document, that any one should teach the peculiarities of the Pope's religion, nor shall it be allowed to any who teaches those doctrines or those peculiarities, to reside in this kingdom; nor shall the ceremonies be exhibited in our kingdom, nor shall any one teaching its peculiarities or its faith be permitted to land on these shores; for it is not proper that two religions be found in this small kingdom. Therefore we utterly refuse to allow any one to teach those peculiarities in any manner whatsoever. We moreover prohibit all vessels whatsoever from bringing any teacher of that religion into this kingdom.

Any vessel that shall bring here a teacher of the Pope's religion, or anything similar, and wishes to enter the harbour on business, may enter, subject however to these regulations, viz. there shall no teacher from on board his ship be by any means permitted to come on shore, because all such have been strictly prohibited from this kingdom. And if any such teacher should come ashore, he shall be seized and returned to the vessel which he left. And the vessel in which he came shall not leave except he shall sail with it.

And if any shall come on shore without liberty, and shall be concealed until the vessel in which he came shall have sailed, and afterward shall be discovered, he shall remain a prisoner until a proper vessel can be obtained for him to return, and then he shall go after having paid to the chiefs a fine at their discretion.

But if it should be impossible for the said person to dwell on board, it shall be permitted him in writing to dwell for a season on shore, on his giving bonds and security for the protection of the kingdom.

If the master of a vessel shall refuse to obey this law, and shall set on shore the teacher prohibited by this act, in contempt of the government, then the vessel shall be forfeited to the chiefs of these islands and become theirs, and the cargo on board the vessel shall likewise become theirs, and the master of the vessel shall pay the sum of ten thousand dollars: but it may be optional with the chiefs to remit any part of the sum.

Moreover, if a stranger shall present himself as a mechanic, a merchant, or of any other business, and it shall be granted him to reside here, and afterward he shall be found teaching the doctrine of the Pope, or anything else whereby this kingdom shall be disturbed, this law shall be in force against him, and he may be retained a prisoner or banished, after he shall have paid a fine at the discretion of the chiefs.

That this law may be extensively known, it shall be printed and published, and on the arrival of a vessel, it shall be the duty of the pilot to carry with him this law and give it to the master of the vessel, that he may not be ignorant of the law. And if the law is not shown to the master of the vessel by the pilot, and any prohibited person should come ashore because the pilot did not show this law to the master of the vessel, the pilot shall pay to the chiefs one hundred dollars, and the person who left the vessel shall be returned on board again.

If any one, either foreigner or native, shall be found assisting another in teaching the doctrine of the Pope's religion, he shall pay to the government a fine of one hundred dollars for every such offence.

KAMEHAMEHA III.

Lahaina, Maui, Dec. 18, 1837.

APPENDIX V.

THE UNITED STATES CONSUL TO THE KING.

United States Consulate,
Sandwich Islands, Oct. 26, 1839.

SIR,—As the opinion seems to be to some extent entertained, that American citizens residing in the Sandwich Islands as missionaries under the patronage of an Incorporated Institution of the United States, have exerted a controlling influence upon the framers of the laws of this country, I have very respectfully to inquire, if they have ever had any voice in the passage of laws affecting the interests of other foreigners, and particularly whether they have ever had anything to do in the measures adopted by your government for the prevention of the introduction of the Catholic religion into the country. And whether, in the treatment which has been shown to any subject of the government of France, they have directly or indirectly recommended the course pursued by your government, and also whether, in the attempts made under your authority to suppress the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion on the part of your own subjects, they have countenanced those attempts. If they have in any of these respects controlled the action of your government, will you be pleased to inform me very explicitly in what manner, and to what extent. An early reply will be a favour.

With the highest considerations,
I have the honour to be,
Your Majesty's most obedient Servant,

P. A. BRINSMADE,
United States Commercial Agent.

To His Majesty, KAMEHAMEHA III.
King of the Sandwich Islands.

THE KING TO THE UNITED STATES CONSUL.

[Translation.]

Kauwila House, present Residence of the King of Hawaii, October 28, 1839.

My Respects to you, the American Consul:

I have received your letter asking questions respecting the American missionaries, supposed by some to regulate the acts of my government under me; I, together with the chiefs under me, now clearly declare to you, that we do not see anything in which your questions are applicable to the American missionaries. From the time the missionaries first arrived, they have asked liberty to dwell in these islands. Communicating instructions in letters and delivering the word of God, has been their business.

They were hesitatingly permitted to remain by the chiefs of that time, because they were said to be about to take away the country. We exercised forbearance, however, and protected all the missionaries, and as they frequently arrived in this country, we permitted them to remain in this kingdom because they asked it; and when we saw the excellence of their labours, then some of the chiefs and people turned to them in order to be instructed in letters, for those things were in our opinion really true.

When the priests of the Romish religion landed at these islands, they did not first make known to us their desire to dwell on the islands, and also their business. There was not a clear understanding with this company of priests as there was with that; because they landed in the country secretly without Kaahumanu's hearing anything about their remaining here.

When the number of the followers of the Romish religion became considerable, certain captains of whale-ships told Kaahumanu of the evil of this way, and thus Captain D . . . informed me of a great destruction in Britain in ancient time,

and that his ancestors died in that slaughter, and he thought a like would soon be done here. That was the company who informed us of the evil of the Romish religion, and also a certain French man-of-war, and a certain British man-of-war approved of what we did.

Inasmuch as I do not know of the American missionaries having had anything to do in my business with my chiefs, I have therefore inquired of them, the chiefs, and they say no, in the same manner as I now say no, to you.

Some of them, however, have told me of having known certain things done by certain missionaries, viz. what Mr. Bingham said to Kaahumanu, "I have seen some people made to serve at hard labour on account of their having worshipped according to the Romish religion. Whose thought is that?" Kaahumanu said to him, "Mine." Then he that spake to her objected quickly, saying, "It is not proper for you to do thus, for you have no law that will apply." When he said that, then Kaahumanu immediately replied to him with great strength, "The law respecting Idolatry; for their worship is like that which we have forsaken." Mr. Clark also, and Mr. Chamberlain, spoke to Kinau while Kaahumanu was yet alive, and objected to said conduct, and afterward Dr. Judd. And at a certain time Mr. Bingham and Mr. Bishop disputed strongly with Kinau on account of the wrong of punishing those of the Romish religion.

And now in Kekauluohi's time, Mr. Richards disputed strongly with Kekuanaoa, urging the entire abolition of that thing, and that kindness should be bestowed on them, that they might be pleased, giving them also an instructor to teach them the right way; and thus also he said to Kekauluohi and to me.

And afterward, when Mr. Bingham heard, by Mr. Hooper, that certain women were confined in irons at the fort, he went immediately and made known to Kekuanaoa the wickedness of their confinement for that thing, and when Kekuanaoa heard it, he immediately sent a man, and afterward went

himself to the fort, to set the prisoners free, for their confinement was not by order of the chiefs.

Should it be said by accusers that the American missionaries are the authors of one law of the kingdom, the law respecting the sale of rum, or if not, that they have urged it strongly, I would say, a number of captains of whale-ships commenced that thing, thousands of my own people supported them; and when my chiefs saw that it was a good thing, they requested me to do according to the petition of that company, and when I saw that it was really an excellent thing, then I chose that as a rule of my kingdom.

But that thing which you speak to me of, that they act with us, or overrule our acts, we deny it, it is not so.

We think that perhaps these are their real crimes:—

Their teaching us knowledge. Their living with us, and sometimes translating between us and foreigners. Their not taking the sword into their hand, and saying to us with power, Stop! punish not the worshippers in the Romish religion.

But, to stand at variance with, and to confine that company, they have never spoken like that since the time of Kaahumanu I. down to the time that the Romish priest was confined on board the Europa.

I think, perhaps, those things are not clear to you; it would perhaps be proper, therefore, that the American missionaries should be examined before you and Commodore Read, and us also.

Thus I have written you with respect,

(Signed) KAMEHAMEHA III.

APPENDIX VI.

TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

ARTICLE 1. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the king of the French and the king of the Sandwich Islands.

ART. 2. The French shall be protected in an effectual manner in their persons and property by the king of the

Sandwich Islands, who shall also grant them an authorization sufficient so as to enable them juridically to prosecute his subjects against whom they will have just reclamations to make.

ART. 3. This protection shall be extended to French ships and to their crews and officers. In case of shipwreck the chiefs and inhabitants of the various parts of the Archipelago shall assist them and protect them from pillage. The indemnities for salvage shall be regulated, in case of difficulty, by arbiters selected by both parties.

ART. 4. No Frenchman accused of any crime whatever shall be tried except by a jury composed of foreign residents, proposed by the French Consul, and approved by the Government of the Sandwich Islands.

ART. 5. The desertion of sailors belonging to French ships shall be strictly prevented by the local authorities, who shall employ every disposable means to arrest deserters, and the expenses of the capture shall be paid by the captain or owners of the aforesaid ships, according to the tariff adopted by the other nations.

ART. 6. French merchandises, or those known to be French produce, and particularly wines and *eaux de vie* (brandy) cannot be prohibited, and shall not pay an import duty higher than five per cent. *ad valorem*.

ART. 7. No tonnage or importation duties shall be exacted from French merchants, unless they are paid by the subjects of the nation the most favoured in its commerce with the Sandwich Islands.

ART. 8. The subjects of King Kamehameha III. shall have a right in the French possessions to all the advantages which the French enjoy at the Sandwich Islands, and they shall moreover be considered as belonging to the most favoured nation in their commercial relations with France.

Made and signed by the contracting parties the 17th July, 1839. (Signed) KAMEHAMEHA III.
C. LAPLACE,
Post Captain, commanding the French frigate Artémise.

APPENDIX VII.

Population—Captain King's estimate, 1779—Why erroneous—Great mortality—Causes of—Census tables for years 1832, 1836, 1840—Probable results.

In Cook's Voyages the population of the group, in 1779, is estimated at 400,000, which, it is to be presumed, far exceeded the truth. Captain King, who arrived at this conclusion, based his opinions from the numbers that flocked to whichever point the ships moved. They were wonderful objects in the eyes of the simple islanders, and drew together the whole population to wonder and gaze upon the novel sight; consequently, vast crowds continually appeared, frequently composed, to a great extent, of the same individuals, whose curiosity prompted them to follow his motions, but which to him appeared like new faces. He likewise judged the populousness of Kealakeakua bay to be a fair sample of the condition of the coasts of all the islands; a conclusion which a better acquaintance with their actual state would have shown him to have been erroneous.

Judging from such data, his estimate gave to the whole islands a population nearly equal to that which he beheld in certain points; a conclusion as incorrect as it was too hastily made. Later voyagers formed similar opinions, from the large tracts of land everywhere to be met with, now deserted, which bear marks of former cultivation, and are enclosed by broken walls or partially-irrigated by half ruined ditches.

When it is borne in mind that the custom of changing the location of their cultivated grounds was common among the natives, leaving the old to go to waste, and that no chief of great importance was allowed by the policy of Kamehameha I. to reside away from the person of his sovereign, his presence being a security for his allegiance; and that the supreme chief frequently migrated, and thus drew after him a vast train of greedy followers, whose path was as destructive

as that of locusts, it is not matter of surprise that such fields are common. The country became deserted by those interested in its culture, consequently no correct inference in regard to the former population can be formed from this fact. But whatever was its amount, it was vastly greater than at present; and since the time of Cook a rapid decrease has occurred. Neither is this melancholy result of difficult solution. The population of the islands probably never amounted to what, with the aids of civilisation, they could be made capable of supporting. During their heathen state, though divided into many hostile tribes, perpetually engaged in warfare, their battles, from the imperfection of their weapons, were comparatively bloodless. That very condition served to develop enterprise and a national spirit, though accompanied with beastly excess, and thus a spirit favourable to physical growth was stimulated. The boundless hospitality which every chief was obliged by the spirit of the race to exercise, and which prevailed even among the canaille, always found food and shelter for the oppressed. A man dissatisfied with one master had but to flee to another, and he was sheltered and welcomed. Taxes were heavy, and much labour required, but as it was generally for the support of the whole, an interested motive existed. The same work which would destroy the energies of a man who was to receive no reward for his toil, would produce health and cheerfulness in one who had an interest in the result. Every individual had that, to some extent, in the wealth and success of his chief; hence a patriarchal feeling was developed, which, with long used and uncontested despotic power, will sufficiently account for the deep reverence, fear, and canine-like attachment with which the common people regard their superiors. Exceptions to this no doubt prevailed, and much misery was the consequence; but as a general principle it was correct, and stands in strong contrast with the relative condition of the two classes, after a thirst for foreign wealth was developed by intercourse with whites. A grasping, ava-

ricious disposition succeeded; ends were to be attained regardless of the means used. The little natural human feeling the chiefs possessed was extinguished by an all-powerful passion for gain. Interested foreigners stimulated this desire; cargoes of rich goods were brought, luxuries displayed, and no means left untried to excite their cupidity. The unfortunate result is well known. The whole physical resources of the kingdom were overwrought, and men, women, and children were taxed beyond their powers. Sandal-wood was to be collected; mountains and valleys, almost inaccessible, were to be penetrated, and heavy loads borne on bleeding shoulders to the sea-side. Like the children of Israel, their toil was doubled, and their sufferings found no consideration in the eyes of their cruel task-masters. Cultivation was neglected, and famine ensued. Multitudes perished under their burthens; others left their homes, and wandered, like wild animals, in the depths of forests, where they either slowly sunk under the horrors of want and starvation, or sustained a miserable existence on roots and wild fruits. Blind to the consequences, the chiefs continued the same policy. Debts were contracted which must be discharged, and increased taxes were imposed. No property was safe. A native could neither hold or acquire—all was his chief's—even his children became a source of additional suffering, for every head was taxed!—infanticide greatly increased;—parents gave away their offspring, and the natural feelings of the nation were crushed beneath this iron despotism. Life became a wearisome burthen; numbers of the most active sought safety and employment abroad. The first effects of Christianity added to this already intolerable load. So long had this system been pursued, that no other plan for public works, than the compulsory labour of the whole population, seemed feasible. Regardless of the advice and instruction of their religious teachers, they added to their labours the toil of building churches, school-houses, and other works, necessary in themselves, but erected by unholy means. This system prevailed in latter days, with

mitigations, however, until 1838, when it began to give way before the combined influences of the mission and foreign residents, and the more enlightened efforts of the native population. Predial servitude, in its old shape, no longer exists in Hawaii. The wars of Kamehameha I. were also very destructive, and his power at first maintained by great sacrifice of human life.

Before Cook's visit, diseases were few and simple. Subsequently they increased in number and virulence, while the remedies and knowledge necessary for arresting them remained unknown; the fatality attending novel illnesses, the progress of which they knew not how to arrest, produced a deep and often fatal spirit of despondency. Savages naturally have but little regard for life, and however simple at first the disease, frequently die from *want of exertion to live.* Their minds are hardened to every benevolent argument, and, careless of existence, they perish like mere animals. The beneficent services of the foreign physicians are doing much to counteract this destructive apathy, and also to destroy the influence of the quacks, who yearly destroy numbers. Alcohol and licentiousness have usually been considered the most aggravated causes of depopulation, but their influence has been exaggerated. The habits of the natives, in both respects, are now better than they were before their discovery, when drunkenness, produced by the use of *awa*, and promiscuous intercourse and incest, were almost parts of their natures. The former, no doubt, has destroyed many, and created a predisposition to disease in more—but the natives were never so completely addicted to it, as to make it a primary cause in their destruction. The diseases incident to the latter, have extensively run throughout the whole race, and now seem to have almost exhausted themselves. Prior to their discovery by Cook, they were unknown. It cannot be doubted that they have been a powerful means, not so much of destroying the increase as preventing it, and the effects are melancholy in the extreme. The habits of both sexes are of such a

nature, that fecundity with young people is, when compared with other countries, of rare occurrence. It is sufficient to be known that such is the fact, without enlarging upon the topic. More die in proportion to disease than in other countries, but still fewer are born, as the tables of population show. The great pestilence of 1803 destroyed multitudes, and has been supposed to have partaken of the character of the Asiatic cholera.

A powerful agent, though one the effects of which have been greatly overlooked, is the partial adoption of foreign clothing. This may seem paradoxical; but unfortunately it is too true. In their original state, their clothing was simple and uniform. Alterations soon occurred; in their desire to imitate the whites, their old was greatly thrown aside, and replaced by such articles of foreign manufacture as could be procured. The wealth of the chiefs enabled them to make a complete change, and appear well. With the common people, every article, from the cast-off dress of a sailor from the Arctic regions, to the thinnest fabrics from China, were put into requisition. Some days, the whole population would appear decently clad; on others, a mixture of their old and new would predominate. Many would wear their clothes but part of the time, and then finding them inconvenient from extra heat or cold, throw them aside altogether. The utmost irregularity prevailed, not only from poverty, but from carelessness, and ignorance of the results. Warm dresses would be worn for weeks by some, and then the same party would appear for as long a period in almost a state of nudity. The warmer and finer the weather, the greater the desire for display. Should rain occur, the same persons who but a few minutes previous paraded their finery with all the importance of civilised belles, would doff it, lest it be spoiled, and expose their naked persons rather than their newly-acquired fashions, to the peltings of the storm. In all work, the same plan prevailed. At those seasons when clothing was most required to preserve an even temperature of the system, it was laid aside, and when least needed, most worn. Their constitutions already enfeebled,

from causes before mentioned, could ill bear such treatment. Colds and fevers greatly increased, and of a more fatal tendency. Trivial predispositions to disease were aggravated, and death the frequent result of attacks which the slightest prudence could have obviated.

The filthy habits of the natives would of themselves be conducive to disease, and much else might be named which would cause the philanthropist less to wonder, why the decrease, than that it should have been so slight in comparison to the many causes so actively at work to create it. I have stated only those which have come into operation since their first intercourse with the whites. Wars more bloody, owing to the possession of improved weapons, and on a more extended scale, until the conquest of the group was completed. They were succeeded by diseases of the most destructive character, which raged unresisted by medical art. As fatal as either were the severe labours imposed upon the conquered. Alcohol swelled the list, and ignorance of, or blindness to the most simple physical truths, added their hecatombs. It must be remembered that these causes were all additional to those which existed prior to their discovery, and which were of themselves sufficiently active to prevent any rapid increase.

At the first glance, it may appear that civilisation was destructive in its tendency when in contact with the savage. A more extended view will show it otherwise. If it destroys, it likewise creates, and evil as the most active principles may for a while riot uncontrolled, yet counteracting and more powerful tendencies are at work, which must eventually neutralise and overcome the former. Civilised man can add nothing to the vices of the savage, though by the contact the fruits may be made more bitter. Like the first effects of a brilliant sun upon tender vegetation, it will shrink and wither, but the same light continued will cause it to revive and shoot forward in all the luxuriance of its legitimate growth. Such has been emphatically the case at these islands. Their depopulation was more rapid, as far as can be ascertained, in the

reigns of Kamehameha I. and his successor, Liholiho, than at a more recent period. As Christianity and civilisation have advanced, in just that proportion has this mortality ceased. Their effects are of too recent a nature to predict the final consequences, but it may be confidently expected, that as the fatal tendencies are counteracted and others allowed to operate, good results will ensue. The despotism of the chiefs has been voluntarily abolished and laws enacted favourable to increase. Families who have three children are freed from all taxes; those having more are rewarded by gifts of land and other encouragements to industry. Taxes, though still high, are equalised and made easy for the people. A national spirit is awakened, schools and churches supported, regular trades and professions followed; in short, the very antipodes of the moral degradation which so lately hung over the nation begins to be manifested; medical knowledge and assistance more diffused; manners, clothing, habitations, are all slowly improving. It is, indeed, but the dawn of a better day; but enough has already taken place to show that to Christianity and civilisation, through the influences of the American mission and the intelligence of the foreign population, must these beneficent effects be attributed. No stronger evidence of this need be given than the fact, that the children and adults who have been gathered into schools, under the immediate attention of the missionaries, have enjoyed excellent health and made rapid advancement in their respective pursuits. The same may be said, to some extent, of those who are under the influence of foreign families.

The following tables will illustrate, in some degree, the decrease of population since the death of Captain Cook. The census, as collected by the natives, is not much to be relied upon, especially those of a few years back. In taking them, it was supposed to be only to get at the number of taxable polls, and great reluctance and deceit prevailed among the people, which prevented any positive accuracy; still, sufficient facts are established to show the general rate of decrease.

Cook's vague estimate in 1779, made the population 400,000, but 300,000 would have been nearer to the truth.

	A loose estimate for 1823.	Census of 1832.	Census of 1836.
Hawaii,	85,000	45,792	39,364
Maui,	20,000	35,062	24,199
Lanai,	2,500	1,600	1,200
Molokai,	3,500	6,000	6,000
Kahoolawe,	50	80	80
Oahu,	20,000	29,755	27,809
Kauai,	10,000	10,977	8,934
Niihau,	1,000	1,047	993
	142,050	130,313	108,579

The following table of the population of Kauai, embracing four districts, was carefully prepared, and will serve to show the relative proportion of deaths and births, children and adults, as they prevailed in 1839, throughout the group.

WAWAHIPUHI TO KEALIA.

Taxable men	905
" women	732
" boys	75
" girls	45
Boys under fourteen	309
Girls do. do.	277
Men having three or more children	25
Women do. do. do.	24
Old men	249
Old women	294
	2935

KIPU TO WAHIAWA.

Taxable men	490
" women	384
" boys	17
" girls	30
Boys under fourteen	30
Girls do. do.	132
Men having three or more children	
Women do. do. do.	
Old men	75
Old women	94
	1252

KAPAA TO KEPU.

Taxable men	536
" women	396
" boys	31
" girls	32
Boys under fourteen	155
Girls do. do.	154
Men having three or more children	10
Women do. do. do.	10
Old men	101
Old women	125
	1550

HANAPEPE TO NUALOLO.

Taxable men	853
" women	701
" boys	34
" girls	34
Boys under fourteen	353
Girls do. do.	264
Men having three or more children	33
Women do. do. do.	31
Old men	237
Old women	279
	2819

FOREIGN POPULATION.

Americans	60
English	7
Other nations	8
Half Breeds (children)	23
	98

Males	4620
Females	4135
Foreigners	98
Grand total	8853
Grand total in 1836	8934
Grand total in 1832	10,977

Decrease the last four years, 88.

Population of the district of Kauai, reaching eastward from Waioli, twenty miles, to Kealia, and westward, twenty miles, to Wawapuhi.

	Adults.	Children.	Total.
1831,	2583	668	3251
1835,	2551	569	3120
1837,	2314	690	3004
1840,	2229	706	2935

Census of that part of Kauai included between Nuololo and Hanapepe, for 1841.

Taxable men	834
" women	679
" boys	37
" girls	33
Boys under fourteen	359
Girls do. do.	284
Men having three or more children	49
Women do. do. do.	37
Old men	217
Old women	250
Whole population	2779
Deaths	78
Births	39
Excess of Deaths over Births	39
Decrease of population during the year	40
Census of 1839-40 this district gave a total of	2839
1840-41	2779
Showing a decrease of	60

The population of Kauai is somewhat affected by removals to other islands, but it will be seen that the decrease is but small. The district of Hanapepe is one of the most fatal in the group ; eight deaths to a birth having occurred there for a number of years.

The district of Ewa, Oahu, gives the following results for the year 1840.

Number of men	1105
" women	878
" boys under eighteen	491
" girls under eighteen	318
Total,	2792

Number of births the past year	61
" deaths	132
" of Protestant marriages	56
Removals during the year to other places,	
Males	73
Females	45
	118
Census of 1836	3423
" 1840	2792
Diminished in four years	631
Excess of deaths over births during the past year	71
Removals	118
Diminished the past year	189

Ratio of decrease in four years, including removals, 1-5th nearly.
Ratio of decrease by death during the past year, 1-4th nearly.

The district of Ewa includes a tract of country about fifteen miles in length, from Halaua to Waimanaio, around the lagoon and along the seabord, where most of the inhabitants reside.

The census of this year is not yet accurately known, but the population of the group is estimated at upwards of one hundred thousand, of which about one thousand are foreigners, and an equal number half-breeds.

Niihau and Molokai have gained in population; the former has upwards of one thousand inhabitants. Certain districts on Maui and Hawaii, show also a gain, though the full results are not yet determined. Oahu is estimated at thirty thousand, and has gained by immigration from the other islands. The general belief among those best informed upon this subject is, that, for a few years past, the mortality has been greatly stayed, and though there has been a decrease it has been slight when compared with former periods. If this is true, as there is little cause to doubt, reasonable hope may be entertained that the rising generation will be able to stay the tide of death, and people *Hawaii nei* with an increasing and industrious race.

From the great fertility of certain portions of its soil, its commercial advantages, but principally from the far greater amount of nutritious food to be derived from the same quantity of land planted with the kalo plant, than from any other vegetable production, this group is capable of supporting a dense population. With the exception of metals, its natural resources are sufficient to meet all its necessities.

THE END.

LONDON:
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

CHEAP EDITIONS OF POPULAR WORKS.

CAMPBELL'S POETICAL WORKS. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

ROGERS'S POEMS. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— ITALY. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*

SHAKSPEARE'S POEMS. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE ESSAYS OF ELIA. Price 5*s.*

LAMB'S LIFE AND LETTERS. Price 5*s.*

——— POETICAL WORKS. Price 2*s.*

——— ROSAMUND GRAY, &c. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— TALES FROM SHAKSPEARE. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— ADVENTURES OF ULYSSES. To which is added, MRS. LEICESTER'S SCHOOL. Price 2*s.*

HUNT'S INDICATOR. Price 5*s.*

——— THE SEER; or, COMMON-PLACES REFRESHED. Price 5*s.*

SHERIDAN'S DRAMATIC WORKS. With an INTRODUCTION. By LEIGH HUNT. Price 5*s.*

PRINGLE'S RESIDENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

HALL'S VOYAGE TO LOO-CHOO. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— TRAVELS IN SOUTH AMERICA. Price 5*s.*

——— FRAGMENTS OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS. First, Second, and Third Series. Price 5*s.* each.

ELLIS'S EMBASSY TO CHINA. Price 4*s.*

DANA'S TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST. Price 3*s.*

SEDGWICK'S LETTERS FROM ABROAD. Price 4*s.*

BAILLIE'S FUGITIVE VERSES. Price 2*s.*

CLEVELAND'S VOYAGES AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*